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BOJARDO ED ARIOSTO.

VOL. I.

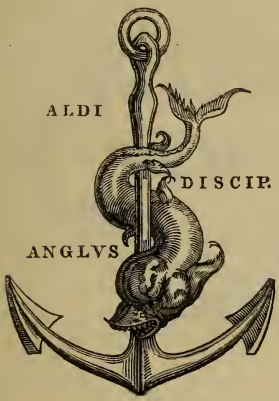
CONTAINING AN ESSAY ON THE ROMANTIC
NARRATIVE POETRY OF
THE ITALIANS.

ILLE PER EXTENTUM FUNEM MIHI POSSE VIDETUR
IRE POETA, MEUM QUI PECTUS INANITER ANGIT,
IRRITAT, MULCET, FALSIS TERRORIBUS IMPLET
UT MAGUS; ET MODO ME THEBIS, MODO PONIT ATHENIS.

111

ORLANDO INNAMORATO DI BOJARDO: ORLANDO FURIOSO DI ARIOSTO: WITH AN ESSAY ON THE ROMANTIC NARRATIVE POETRY OF THE ITALIANS; MEMOIRS, AND NOTES BY ANTONIO PANIZZI.

VOLUME I.



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TO WILLIAM ROSCOE ESQ

IN TESTIMONY OF RESPECT

FROM HIS OBLIGED FRIEND

ANTONIO PANIZZI

PREFACE.

Impressed with a conviction that the history of the Romanesque Narrative Poems of Italy has not been so critically investigated as the lovers of Italian literature might desire, I was induced to consult the old romancers and popular traditions to which the Italian poets are indebted for their principal characters. Facts, new and interesting, frequently presenting themselves, I determined to publish them as illustrations of the Furioso, *and as far as they extend, I venture to indulge the expectation that they will render the fictions of* Bojardo *and* Ariosto, *even more amusing than they have hitherto proved; and that a branch of poetry, in which the Italians stand unrivalled, will be more generally understood after the perusal of the following pages. If the information contained in them should not appear as complete as might be wished, it must not be forgotten that a faint light is better than total darkness.*

This volume and the notes to the Innamorato *and* Furioso (*which, with the poems, will be published in succession*) *have been written in English, from an idea that they would prove more acceptable to the English reader, who will gladly excuse any errors,*

when he reflects that, had I not preferred his language, he would not have enjoyed the beautiful translations by LADY DACRE; W. S. ROSE, ESQ.; *and* W. SOTHEBY, ESQ., *which adorn this introductory* Essay.

My original intention was to publish the text of the poem of ARIOSTO *alone; but when I reflected that it would, as in all former editions, be an incomplete work, if unaccompanied by the* Innamorato *of* BOJARDO, *which is in fact the commencement of the* Furioso, *I determined upon printing both the poems together. I was the more readily induced to republish the* Innamorato, *as it seemed to me very unjust, that the original work of* BOJARDO *should be forgotten. Of its merits I shall speak in the succeeding volume; and I shall here only observe, that* ARIOSTO *having composed his poem in continuation of that of* BOJARDO, *as written by the author, and not as it was* remade *by* DOMENICHI *or* BERNI, *no choice was left, even had I been inclined to prefer either of the* rifacimenti.

The original work of BOJARDO *not having been printed for nearly three hundred years, and never carefully, the copies of it are both rare and incorrect. No diligence, however, shall be spared to present the poem, for the first time, in a manner worthy of its author, and to liberate him from the blame which belongs more properly to the printer than to himself. In the attempt to form a correct text, my labours will be assisted by having it in my power to collate several editions of the* BOJARDO; *an advantage which I owe to the kindness of*

the possessors of two splendid collections of rare and valuable books, who, with the utmost liberality, have placed in my hands five editions of the original poem of Bojardo.

To the Earl Spencer *I am indebted for a copy of the* Innamorato *printed at Venice by Niccolò d'Aristotile detto Zoppino, with the date* MDXXXII. *in the title-page, and* MDXXXIII. *at the end of the volume. This copy once belonged to* Jacopo Corbinelli.

By the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville *I have been favoured with the following editions:*

Orlando Innamorato del Conte di Scandiano Matteo Maria Bojardo, MDXXXII. *Venezia. Per Aurelio Pincio.*

The same, Milano, MDXXXIX.

——— *Venezia,* MDXXXIX. *Pietro Niccolini da Sabio.*

——— *Venezia,* MDXLIV. *Giovanni Antonio e Pietro Fratelli de' Niccolini da Sabio.*

The present Essay *was about to go to press when I was informed that a copy of the first volume of* Dr. Ferrario, Storia ed Analisi dei Romanzi di Cavalleria,[a] *had arrived in England. Having only at that time an opportunity of perusing the volume for a few hours, I found that this valuable publication would not (as I was at first apprehensive) render my labours useless. On*

[a] *The work consists of* 4 *vols.* 8*vo. with many plates. The last volume is written by* Melzi, *and contains a catalogue of the rarest editions of the Italian romanesque poems. As far as I am able to judge, this volume is very accurately compiled.*

since examining the entire work, I observed that when I happen to treat the same points with Dr. FERRARIO, *our views generally agree; a circumstance which has afforded me great pleasure and encouragement. I was particularly glad to perceive that my theory, concerning the main subject and the protagonist of the* Morgante, *is supported by* Prof. GHERARDINI.[b] *My anxiety at the unqualified adoption by* Dr. FERRARIO *of* GINGUENÉ'S *opinions, with respect to the nature of that poem, is consequently much lessened. It is difficult to believe that a poem, the subject of which is treachery, and the protagonist a traitor, can be classed among burlesque poems.*[c]

Dr. FERRARIO *also follows* GINGUENÉ *in his scepticism respecting the Welsh romances.*[d] *Neither of these gentlemen seem to be acquainted with this part of British literary history; and if* Mr. TURNER'S History of the Anglo-Saxons *were known to* Dr. FERRARIO, *he would certainly arrive at a different conclusion.* GINGUENÉ'S *argument, drawn from the silence of* WARTON *in his* History of English Poetry *(the 4to. edition),*

[b] *In a letter to* Dr. FERRARIO *printed by the latter in the third volume of his work, page* 429. *See the present volume p.* 234.

[c] *This heinous offence is so far from being spoken of in jest by* PULCI, *that he makes Marsiglio quote in its defence the conduct of Judith towards Holofernes.* Morg. XXV. 189. *Of all vices certainly treachery admits of ridicule less than any other.*

[d] *Vol. i. p.* 15.

against the existence of Welsh lays and romancers, is founded on a mistaken notion of Dr. WARTON'S *subject. The author proposed to treat of* English, *not of* British *or* Welsh Poetry; *and his silence is no more remarkable, than it would be in an historian of French literature, not to speak of the literature of the Gauls. Yet in the last excellent edition of that work, enough has been said to put beyond doubt the existence of British lays, founded on traditions of a very ancient date.*

It seems that Dr. FERRARIO *has been hardly just, and certainly not very courteous towards* Mr. SISMONDI, *with regard to the supposition of that historian respecting the periods of Orlando's birth and death.*[e] Mr. SISMONDI'S *hypothesis has nothing more incredible in it, than supposing a man to die in battle about seventy years old. Charlemagne died in his seventy-second year, and was so vigorous that he might well have fought and fallen in battle.*[f] *The supposition of* Mr. SISMONDI *is not irreconcileable with that of the existence of another Orlando; and I hope that the fact of the heroes of romance being a fusion of diffe-*

[e] *See in this volume, page* 102. *Perhaps it was requisite in a work which the author* UMILMENTE consacra *to one Strassoldo, an Austrian* ' *d'ogni util e liberal disciplina proteggitore* esimio,' *to speak harshly of the great historian of the Italian Republics. One should be rather inclined to ask from* Dr. FERRARIO, *in the language of* FOSCOLO, *dedications* ' *non vo' dir più libere, ma meno importune*'.

Nunc vero tremefacta novus per pectora cunctis
Insinuat pavor.

[f] *See p.* 116.

rent real heroes, is put beyond doubt by the following pages.[g] *Any one who will give himself the trouble to compare my historical inquiries, with those of* Dr. Ferrario, *as well as my critical principles, and the analysis of the poems with his, will, I flatter myself, see that the two works are conducted on different plans.*

I regret that I could not profit by the Doctor's work in writing this volume; but I expect to derive from it some useful assistance in the preparation of those which are to follow. In this, I have only been able to consult his genealogical tree of the Paladins, which I was much gratified to find mostly agreeing, as far as it went, with one, I trust more complete and correct, which I had drawn up nearly a year ago, expecting to be the first who should publish such a curious document. To my genealogical table are appended notes, which, it is expected, will enhance its interest and usefulness, in clearing up the intricate history of this agreeable branch of literature.

The only point of any consequence, in which I am so unfortunate as not to be supported by Dr. Ferrario's *valuable opinion, is in the subject of the* Ciriffo Calvaneo. *I am glad to see that in an edition of this poem, referred to in his vol.* iii. *p.* 353, *as published at Venice in* 1535, *it is said that 'it concerns the wars waged during the time of King Lewis, the son of Charlemagne.'* Dr. Ferrario *calls this an imposture; but the words of* Pulci,

[g] *See especially, page* 103 *& seq.*

quoted in the present volume, page 194, *will perhaps induce him to alter his opinion.*

It is strange that Dr. FERRARIO *should appeal to chronology, to prove that the* Ciriffo Calvaneo *regarded an epoch later by perhaps seventy or eighty years than the age of King Lewis here spoken of. Errors like these are not more important, than the anachronism which occurs in the lines quoted by* FERRARIO, *where a jubilee is mentioned, as having taken place in the beginning of the tenth century.*[h] LUIGI PULCI *in the* Morgante, xxvii. 112, *says, that the battle of Roncesvalle was fought in* 806: *shall we infer from*

[h] *Novecento anni poi che Gesù Cristo*
Si fece umano, il Pontefice Santo,
Per mandar su nel Ciel l'anime a Cristo,
Del suo Cefas il gloriöso ammanto
Spiegò nel tempio e dinunziò per Cristo
Solenne giubileo. Cirif. Calv: I. 61.

The repetition of the word Cristo *in rhyme is out of respect to the name, and is used by* DANTE *whenever the word is once introduced at the end of the line; see* Parad. xii. 71. xiv. 104. xix. 104. xxxii. 83. *So it is in the* Morgante, xxviii. 38. *Another coincidence worth being recollected with those marked p.* 212, 284, *and* 296, *between the* Morgante *and the* Ciriffo, *which may tend to confirm the supposition, strongly supported by* LUIGI PULCI'S *words, that he wrote the* Ciriffo, *is the phrase 'suo Cefas,' here occurring, which in the* Morgante, xxviii. 87, *is 'buon Cefas;' and* xxvii. 120. *'gran Cefas,' exactly in the same sense.* GINGUENÉ, Hist. Lit. d'Ital. part. II. c. v. *seems to take this expression as a proof of the burlesque nature of the* Morgante. *Does not this word* Cephas *mean* Peter? *'Thou shalt be called* Cephas, *which is by interpretation a stone (or* Peter*).'* JOHN i. 42.

this, that he did not mean to speak of the battle which, as we know, took place in 778 ?

The chronology of these romances will always be irreconcileable with history, if we persist in referring the events there celebrated to Charlemagne's age; but if we keep in mind that the period mentioned by romancers embraces the whole of the times of the Carlovingians, as I think I have proved to be the case, then the chronology will be intelligible. The error in chronology pointed out by Ferrario, *is only one proof more of what has been demonstrated in this* Essay ; *that to Charlemagne was attributed what belonged to other sovereigns of the name of Charles. In the case of the* Ciriffo Calvaneo, *Charles le Simple was mistaken for Charlemagne, and Louis d'Outremer for Louis le Debonnaire; hence, what ought to belong to the period between the years* 936 *and* 954, *if true, was assigned to the period between* 814 *and* 840.

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AN ESSAY ON THE ROMANTIC NARRATIVE POETRY OF THE ITALIANS.

It has been affirmed that chivalry never had any existence, except in the imagination of the poet, and that feudalism was far from cherishing those noble feelings which we delight in supposing to have been the elements of the chivalrous character. There is considerable truth in this observation; but it may also be said that no hero ever existed in real life exactly like those created by poets. Still, with due allowance for the fanciful colouring, it is not too much to assert, that knights have existed in real life who may easily be recognised as the originals of the heroes of poetry. Not even the genius of a Tasso could improve the real character of a Tancredi.

That men living an eventful life, their minds occupied with nothing but battles and slaughter, and among whom the only law was that of the sword, should not at all times have curbed their passions, or restrained their violence, will be readily believed; yet, on the other hand, we

must not give implicit credit to what has been said against chivalry by those 'peevish historians' who, living in idleness, detested a class of men, by whom, in return, they were despised as cowards. The monks, who have recorded their complaints against the warriors of their times, felt a merited dislike to the overbearing qualities of many among them; but were, at the same time, unable to appreciate the manliness, frankness, noble daring, and thirst for glory, which distinguished the knightly character. Professing self-denial and contempt for worldly distinctions, these historians were too frequently disgraced by vices which rarely stained the disposition of the gallant warrior. In return, the minstrels, the faithful attendants on the knights, have omitted no opportunity of abusing the clergy, and particularly the monks. In the beautiful tale of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, there is a passage strongly expressive of the contempt entertained by the knights and minstrels for the monks and clergy. This passage has not been translated by Mr. WAY; but the substance of it has been given in a note by the annotator of his *Fabliaux*.[a] 'In the original

[a] Vol. i. p. 152. Here is inserted the original passage for the perusal of readers acquainted with old French. 'En paradis qu'ai-je à faire? Je n'i quier entrer; mais que j'aie Nicolete ma très douce amie que j'aim tant. C'en paradis ne vont fors tes gens con je vous dirai; il i vont ci viel prestre et cil viel clop; et cil manke qui tote jor et tote nuit crapent devant ces autex et en ces viés croutes, et cil à ces viés capes ereses, et à ces viés tateceles vestues, qui sont nus et decaux et estrumele, qui moeurent de faim, et de sei et

the Viscount (Beaucaire, Nicolette's master) represents to Aucassin the great joys of heaven and pains of hell: to which Aucassin replies by ridiculing the idea of this paradise, which he considers to be the abode of none but filthy monks, priests, and hermits. He further declares his resolution of going to the devil, with whom, he says, he is sure of finding good company—kings, valiant knights and faithful esquires, minstrels and jugglars, and, above all, his Nicolette. It has been already observed that our ancestors, in "the good old times," were by no means remarkable for the purity of their taste in wit or morality.'

That chivalry was attended with many abuses cannot be denied; yet, in order to form a correct opinion of them, we must refer to the circumstances of the times, and we shall find that, under those circumstances, feudalism was greatly improved by being tempered with the principles of chivalry. According to the archetype of a perfect knight, a merciless man was a dastard, as was also he who behaved uncourteously towards the

de froit et de mesaises. Icil vont en paradis, aveuc ciax n'aijou que faire; mais en infer voil jou aler: car en infer vont li bel clerc et li bel cevalier qui sont mort as tornois et as rices guerres, et li bien sergant et li franc home. Aveuc ciax voil-jou aler, et s'i vont les beles dames cortoises que eles ont deus amis ou trois avec leurs barons, et si va li ors et li argens, et li vairs et li gris; et si i vont herpéor et jogléor et li roi del siecle: avec ciax voil-jou aler; mais que j'aie Nicolete ma très douce amie aveuc mi.' BARBAZAN, *Fabliaux, edited by* MEON, vol. i. p. 385.

fair.[b] Granting that romance writers, 'in their ideal heroes, held up fairer models of heroic virtue than were to be found in real life;'[c] still it is clear that in consequence of this beau ideal of knighthood, villany, treachery, and other base delinquencies were branded with infamy and scorn. A knight could indeed be as brutal and profligate as any ancient hero, but he could not boast of his brutality any more than of his skill in lying in ambush; a feat on which HOMER's heroes prided themselves as much as on their carrying off ladies by force into slavery. The manners of the times may be said to have been the disease, and the chivalrous spirit the remedy; a remedy springing out of the disease, and somewhat of an aftergrowth. The principles of chivalry were in this sense favourable to the civilization of mankind. The knight who vowed to protect innocence, to be loyal, and never to be guilty of murder or falsehood, might possibly break his oath; yet in so doing he would feel the consciousness of crime. Deep indeed must have been his profligacy could he without remorse have committed an act which

[b] *Brehus sans pitiè* was both a traitor and a coward. In the *Amadis de Gaula*, lib. i. ch. v. we are told that 'En parte donde las mugeres son mal tratadas, no puede aver hombre que nada valga.' 'Return to thy masters,' says Florice to a messenger from two strange knights, 'and say that the courtesy and gallantry which reign in this court are the best pledges of the courage and honour of its knights.' *Florice and Blancheflour* in ELLIS'S *Specimens of early English metrical Romances*, vol. iii. p. 117.

[c] SOUTHEY, *Preface to Morte d'Arthur*. § 19.

from infancy he had been taught to regard with aversion or contempt.[d] In such a state of society even the practice of duelling was a blessing: for it was much better that an offender should be called to account in fair and open combat, than that he should either be secure of impunity, or be punished by some vile or treacherous means. Thus were some of the evils, arising from a state of society, which made arms the only profession of a person of rank, considerably diminished. Prisoners of war were not put to death, nor even reduced to slavery; and so entire was the confidence placed in the knightly word, that a prisoner was permitted to fix his own ransom (which a noble pride and sense of his own dignity prevented him from fixing too low), and having done so, was allowed to go at large on his parole, in order to seek the means of paying it.

The constitution of the earliest states of society was aristocratical and feudal; and valiant warriors who undertook the defence of the weak and helpless, against the strong and powerful, were the earliest knights errant. Hercules and Theseus were fancied by ancient poets, what Orlando and Rinaldo have been imagined by modern romancers: and we must be cautious how we attribute to chivalry the evils necessarily connected with

[d] Sir Lancelot, on being urged to commit some infidelity on the plea that no one would know it, is made to give the following noble answer: 'Mon cueur, le scauroit bien qu est en son lieu.' *Lancelot du Lac*, part ii. p. 7.

feudalism. Two prominent features, however, of modern chivalry distinguish it from that of the heroic days: the utter abhorrence of any thing like treachery or unfairness, and the implicit loyalty which the knights theoretically professed for the fair. That to the bravest the fairest should belong, as if by right,[e] was quite consistent with the notions prevalent at a period when the strongest was entitled to retain whatever he chose to seize.[f]

[e] 'The female captives are, to uncivilized victors, the most valuable part of the booty.

"The wealthy are slaughtered, the lovely are spared."

We need not refer to the rape of the Sabines, or to a similar instance of the book of Judges, for evidence that such deeds of violence have been committed on a large scale. . . . . The annals of Ireland as well as those of Scotland, prove the crime to have been common in the most lawless parts of both countries; and any woman who happened to please a man of spirit, who came of a good house and possessed a few chosen friends and a retreat in the mountains, was not permitted the alternative of saying him "Nay."'—*Sir* W. SCOTT, *Introduction to Rob Roy*.

[f] See further on, a nice distinction drawn between a freebooter and a thief. Sir W. SCOTT in his *Introduction to the Border Minstrelsy*, an Essay every way worthy of that extraordinary man, has given a translation by Mr. LEYDEN, of some verses of HYBRIAS. It is as follows:

My sword, my spear, my shaggy shield,
  With these I till, with these I sow;
With these I reap my harvest field,
  The only wealth that God bestow.
With these I plant the purple vine,
With these I press the luscious wine.

But the cavalier professed only to win the lady's heart, not to have a right of carrying off her person according to the practice of the ancient heroes. On the other hand dexterity and valour, openly and fairly employed, being the only means of warfare, it was natural that public trials should be made, in the presence of the fair sex, of those who excelled in such knightly qualities. Thus the ladies were indirectly conquered by the bravest knight, not by his seizing and bearing them away, but by his winning their affection through feats of 'nobleness and chivalrie.' Not to mention the flattering nature of the homage paid by him who was superior to all, nor the enthusiasm which personal bravery must excite as being generally united to a noble, warm, and generous disposition, it must be kept in mind that at this period a lady felt the vital importance of being able to dispose of the sword of a victorious

My sword, my spear, my shaggy shield,
They make me Lord of all below;
For he, who dreads the lance to wield,
Before my shaggy shield must bow:
His lands, his vineyards must resign,
And all that cowards have is mine.'

Sir Wm. JONES, after quoting the original of HYBRIAS, gives the following translation of some Arabian verses.

Non sunt mihi opes præter loricam et cassidem,
Et ensem album, ferreum, politum,
Hastamque fuscam, Indicam, rigidam
Laevemque gladium, nudam habentem aciem, procerum.
Poes. Asiat. Comment. cap. 15.

knight.[g] It appears, therefore, that tournaments necessarily arose out of the chivalrous spirit, modified as here described.[h]

[g] It hath bene through all ages even seene,
That with the praise of armes and chevalrie
The prize of beautie still hath ioyned beene;
And that for reasons speciall privitee:
For either doth on other much relie;
For He me seemes most fit the Faire to serve,
That can her best defend from villenie;
And She most fit his service doth deserve,
That fairest is, and from her faith will never swerve.

SPENSER, *Faery Queene*, iv. v. 1.

[h] The earliest record of a tournament is, I think, to be found in NITHARD under the year 842. Some kind of game among the Germans, which consisted in displaying their dexterity in arms, is mentioned by TACITUS, *de Mor. Germ.* § 24. In *an Introductory Discourse* to the Poem of Conloch, by SILVESTER O'HALLORAN, Esq. prefixed to the translation of that poem in Miss BROOKE's *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, we are assured that, 'chivalry flourished among the Celtae in those days of politeness and erudition, which long preceded the conquests in Gaul, and were always in force in Ireland.' The learned writer proceeds to give a very minute account of that chivalry 'which flourished in Ireland from the remotest antiquity.' It is to be wished that some evidence were given in support of those assertions, which, if correct, would certainly prove undeniably that the earliest knights on record were from Ireland. There is reason to suspect that such was the fact when we reflect that *knights* were often *saints*, as we shall see hereafter. The same gentleman informs us likewise in a note to the poem *the Chase*, ibid. p. 75, that 'The heroes of ancient Ireland were sworn never to attack an enemy at any disadvantage.' I would dubb them all knights immediately if this were proved by unexceptionable authority. In a note to the same poem, p. 100, we read, 'It has been already

The kind of idolatrous respect to women so peculiar to this spirit, may in a great measure have been a consequence of the general principle of fairness so strongly inculcated by chivalry. Admitting that treachery and unfairness were strictly forbidden, we readily conceive that force could not have been used against beings so defenceless as women. The knight thus prevented from forcing a lady to accept his hand, was obliged to sue for her favour, and beg it as a boon, in the way which he felt most likely to secure his object. This it was not difficult to learn;

'Nelle scuole d'amor che non s'apprende?'

Submission and enthusiastic affection, evinced in every possible manner, are unquestionably among the surest means of obtaining a requital of passion: and these the chivalrous lover invariably employed.

Whoever, therefore, wishes to investigate the origin of chivalry, as it has been celebrated by poets, the effects of which are felt in the actual state of European society, must first discover when and where the great principle of FAIRNESS

shewn that, amongst the ancient Irish each knight was bound by his military vows to the protection and respectful service of the fair: this is expressly recorded by our history; and our poetry and romances throw farther light on the subject.' It has been *said*, not *shewn*, that this was the fact. But where is the history, really and *bona fide* authentic, which records it? As for poetry and romances they are a very suspicious authority, particularly when their age is not ascertained beyond doubt.

in warfare, more especially in private warfare and in revenging private injuries, was admitted, as the only lawful mode of deciding a controversy. In the country where that principle was first admitted, chivalry, taking the word in its amplest signification, may be said to have had its origin. All the rest is matter of ornament: *fairness* is the corner stone by which chivalry is supported.[i] With regard to the secondary chivalrous qualities, we find their seeds among the Germans as described by TACITUS. From him we learn that Arminius loudly challenged his brother Flavius to single combat, and that the latter would that moment have engaged him, had he not been restrained.[k] A sort of duel, between an enemy, and one of their own countrymen, which was used by the Germans as a mode of divination, must have been fought fairly, or it could

[i] This is the great distinction between a warrior belonging to the heroic and chivalrous ages. The most celebrated among the Grecian heroes, Ulysses, often eulogizes himself as being the craftiest of mankind. (*Odys.* ix. 18.) His grandfather Autolycus surpassed all other men in cunning. (Ibid. xix. 393.) Minerva leaves Telemachus to determine whether he will slay his mother's suitors secretly, or by open force. (Ibid. i. 296.) A knight would have deemed himself disgraced by any thing like this.

[k] *Annal.* ii. 10. That duels were resorted to by the ancient Germans is plainly asserted by VELLEIUS PATERCULUS. 'Et nunc provocantes alter alterum injuria, nunc agentes gratias quod eas Rom. justitia finiret, feritasque sua novitate incognitæ disciplinæ mitesceret et solita armis discerni terminarentur'. *Hist.* ii. cxviii. 1.

have afforded no argument whereon a judgment could be founded.[l] Nor has this great writer, omitted to tell us how severely treachery was punished,[m] and how religiously faith was observed by the Germans; so scrupulously indeed, that he seems to have deemed it rather folly than honesty.[n]

What we read in the same excellent little work concerning the respect paid by the Germans to the fair sex, has induced a belief that from them also was derived that unbounded deference to the ladies, by which the knights were distinguished. Others have derived it from the enthusiastic love of women professed by the Arabians; but it is difficult to understand, how among a people of polygamists, could have originated a custom of which fidelity to a single object was the distinguishing feature. It is true, that the Arabian poetry anterior to Mahomet is replete with elegant and delicate imagery, as also with passionate enthusiasm for the beauty which it celebrates; unalloyed by any particle of that vulgar sentiment which by a polygamist would be called love. The best hypothesis is, perhaps, that the Arabians who conquered the South of Europe imported some of their erotic refinements into their new abodes, and easily rendered them popular, where respect for the fair sex was already a national characteristic. On this subject we may adopt the opinion of Mr. Ellis respecting another hypothesis; that 'the theory which is the most

[l] *De Mor. Ger.* § 10. [m] Ibid. § 12. [n] Ibid. § 24.

comprehensive, has so far the greatest appearance of probability.'[o]

The same principle may be applied to the crowd of supernatural agents, which, by their interference, give so much vivacity to Romances. When attempting to prove that such superstitions were imported into Europe from foreign countries during the middle ages, we are too apt to forget the tenacity with which nations cling to opinions once received, and how difficult it is to substitute new ones in their stead. We know that in many countries, and especially in Italy, popular prejudices are traceable to the classical times. The various kinds of nymphs, syrens, and other deities, are, to a certain extent, the prototypes of fairies, witches, &c;[p] not to mention the Calypsos, Circes, Medeas, &c., the two first of whom dwelt on islands like Morgain. There being no authentic evidence as to how far popular credulity on this head was carried, or the power attributed to such agents extended, it is impossible to define the modifications to which such superstitions were subjected by the importation of foreign deities. The substitution of a spiritual religion, in the place of idolatrous worship, could not entirely efface these popular delusions; yet it must have modified, and, to a certain degree, spiritualized them. The theory of angels, a class of creatures superior to

[o] Ellis, *Intr. to Met. Rom.* § 2.

[p] 'Morgan, according to Usher, signified, in the ancient British, born of the sea.' *Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland*, part ii. p. 16. Is not this a Syren? or Venus born from the sea?

man, but not of a divine nature; the fall of the rebellious spirits; the theological notion adopted by many of the Fathers of the Church, that the air was filled with spirits of this description; and the classical tradition respecting the Gods who were subject to a higher power called Fate: all these ideas, confusedly mingled by the vulgar, must have given rise to a variety of popular superstitions, from which fairies and witches may easily have sprung. To all this may be added, the invasion of western Europe by the northern hordes, who possessed already, it appears, under the name of Elves, and in the form of dwarfs, a number of supernatural agents, not unlike those believed in by the nations among whom they settled. Finally, the intercourse with the Arabians, who advanced so far into Spain and Italy, and amongst whom Genii, resembling in many respects our own angels and fairies, were popular, must have modified, to a certain extent, the superstitions of our forefathers. It would appear, then, that from a combination of these different causes, and not from any one of them exclusively, the supernatural agents, which are so prominent in Romance, must be derived. It is inconceivable that the Italians, for instance, should have abandoned their heathen superstitions for those of the North, and then have rejected the latter to make way for those furnished by Arabian fancy, without the transition from Paganism to Christianity having had any influence on these several changes. The word *Fairy* is said to be derived

from the Persian *Peri*, the *P* being in that language pronounced as *F*; but it may be observed, that *Fata*, the plural of *Fatum*, is nearer to the Italian *Fata* (fairy) than any Persian word.

The ordinance in Holy Writ, that 'witches shall not be suffered to live,' was the best authority for believing in the existence of some beings exercising a supernatural power. The Romancers, however, did not deem so harshly of Fairies as to suppose their avocations inconsistent with Christianity. We read that the fairy Morgana (Morgain or Morgue) finding her veracity questioned, swears to perform her promise on her word as a good Christian.[q] The clergy have always been very fond of conjuring the powers of darkness, and in many countries they continue to do so to this day: nor was it inconsistent with the religion which they taught, that the devil (God permitting) should have the power of interfering in a variety of forms, to prevent men from acting properly. From the same source, in all probability, dragons, giants, and monsters of all kinds originated. The huge serpent which was killed in Africa by Regulus was as monstrous a dragon

[q] 'Tenez, fait Morgain, je vous prometz comme femme chrestienne que je y serais.' *Sir Lancel.* i. 196. In the *Vallon des Faux Amans*, a story taken from this same Romance, and published by Le Grand in his collection of *Fabliaux*, vol. i. as well as translated by Way, and inserted in his second volume, we find that Morgana, who kept all false lovers shut up in a place of confinement, had had the precaution of having a chapel built there, that her prisoners might hear mass every day.

as any on record. He had no wings, it is true; but any reptile of remarkable swiftness might be easily furnished with wings by a terrified imagination. It did not breathe fire, but some creature whose venom caused rapid death accompanied by burning thirst, as a *Dipsas*[r] for example, was the prototype of the fire-breathing dragon. If nature exhibits in the lizard a miniature of the crocodile, might not fancy easily conceive the crocodile itself to be but the miniature of some larger creature? And since the word dragon means in Welsh *Leader*, we must admit the propriety of Sir W. Scott's remark, 'that hyperbolical and enigmatical descriptions may often lead us to confound with fiction what was used as a metaphor and parable.'[s]

At a period when the personal strength of the combatants so materially influenced the issue of a battle, men must have been prone to associate the idea of gigantic size with the individual muscular power and swiftness of limb which constituted the great requisites of heroism. Valour alone raising men to the command of armies in such a state of society,[t] it is not surprising that, in some old languages, the word which means *giant*, signifies likewise *chief*.[u] The Scythians were

[r] *Dipsas* (δίψας) was the name of a famous witch, very much like *Erycto*. Ovid. *Amor*. i. 8.

[s] *Notes to Sir Tristram*, page 295. In the case of *Dipsas* was it the reptile which was called after the witch or *vice versa?* Has the same happened with the word *Dragon?*

[t] Tacit. *de Mor. Germ.* § 7.

[u] '*Cawr*, in ancient British, signifies not only a *man of*

disappointed at the mean appearance of Alexander, and the Franks at that of Pepin-le-Bref, the father of Charlemagne.[v] Hence Arthur and Charlemagne are described as men of an athletic form.[w] VIRGIL represented Turnus and Pandarus, as heroes must have been supposed to be in the times in which those warriors are said to have existed, when he writes

> Agnoscunt faciem invisam, atque *immania membra*
> Turbati subito Æneadae; tum Pandarus *ingens*
> Emicat. *Æneid.* ix. 734.

great size, but also a *King* or *Chieftain*. Of this, Geoffry of Monmouth might not perhaps have been aware since he is so liberal of his Giants.' WAY'S *Fabliaux*, vol. i. p. 207. Notes.

[v] QUINTUS CURTIUS, vii. 32. And in vi. 13. he says; 'omnibus barbaris in corporum majestate veneratio est, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant quam quos eximia specia donare natura dignata est.' With regard to Pepin we are told 'quod primates exercitus eum clanculo despicientes carpere solerent,' upon which he commanded a lion and a bull to be set against each other, and then having killed the lion, which no one else dared attempt, he asked of the lords: 'Videtur vos utrum dominus vester esse possumus? Non audistis quid fecit parvus David ingenti illi Goliath, vel brevissimus Alexander procerissimis satellitibus suis?' MONACH. SANGALL. *de Reb. bel. Carol. Mag.* lib. ii. § 23.

[w] Of Arthur there is strong reason for believing that he was extremely tall, though not to an incredible degree. TURPIN has left us a portrait of Charlemagne well worthy of attention. In it we find that he was 'Eight of his own feet high, and he had remarkably long feet; his face was a span and a half in length, his nose about half a span, and his forehead about one foot high.'—*De Vit. Caroli Mag.* cap. xxi. A learned German wrote a treatise to prove that it was a calumny to assert that Charlemagne was such a huge being.—See *De statura Caroli Magni* φιλοπονημα MARQUARDI FREHERI.

What we historically know of the strength, valour and stature of some of the most celebrated knights, would almost induce a belief that they were men of a different race from ours, and that mankind have since greatly degenerated both in mind and body.[x] ANNA COMNENA, who was a most bitter enemy of Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, one of the chiefs of the first crusade, gives a singular portrait of him, when he was at her father's court at Constantinople, which is here inserted in English that the reader may form a just idea of the original.

'Neither amongst our own nation (the Greeks) nor amongst foreigners is there in our age a man equal to Bohemond. His presence dazzled the eyes as his reputation did the fancy. He was *one cubit* taller than the tallest man known. In his waist he was thin, but broad in his shoulders and chest, without being either too thin or too fat. His arms were strong, his hands large and full, his feet firm and solid. He stooped a little, but through habit only, and not on account of any deformity. He was fair, but on his cheeks there was an agreeable mixture of vermilion. His hair was not loose over his shoulders, according to the fashion of the barbarians (the western nations), but was cut above his ears. His eyes were blue and full of wrath and fierceness. His nostrils were large, inasmuch as having a wide chest and a great

[x] Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos.

heart, his lungs required an unusual quantity of air to moderate the warmth of his blood. His handsome face had in itself something gentle and softening, but the height of his person and the fierceness of his looks had something wild and terrible. He was more dreadful in his smiles than others in their rage.'[y]

Now if we suppose such a man fighting against the wild beasts of the forest, or giving proofs of his prowess before some dwarfish Arabians, as was done by Godfrey[z] his brother in arms, we have at once, and without any great effort of imagination, the idea of a gigantic hero of antiquity or romance. The incredulity with regard to the heroic feats attributed to the knights will be much diminished, if we consider the immense advantage possessed by a cavalier, himself and his steed armed at all points in steel, over poor knaves on foot. May we not say that a Spaniard on horseback

[y] MICHAUD, *Hist. des Crois.* vol. vii. p. 248.

[z] A bear attacked a poor pilgrim, who was gathering wood in the forest. Godfrey ran to the man's assistance, had his horse killed by the enraged beast, was himself dangerously wounded, but at length destroyed the animal. WILL. TYR. ARCH. *Hist.* lib. iii. § 17. ALBER. AQUEN. *Hist. Hier.* lib. iii. § 4. An Arabian chief having heard so much of Godfrey's valour and strength, went to him and prayed that he would be so good as to strike a camel with his sword, in order to give him a proof of his muscular power. Godfrey instantly, at one blow, and with the greatest ease, cut off the poor animal's head. The Arabian, in astonishment, inquired of Godfrey whether he could do the same with any other sword: Godfrey smiling, took the Arabian's own weapon and with equal dexterity beheaded another camel. WILL. TYR. ARCH. *Hist.* lib. ix. § 22.

did as much execution among the natives of America, as was ever done by Orlando among the Saracens?

An Italian writer almost unknown in this country, and who has anticipated most of the historical observations made by some highly celebrated writers of our own times, without their having had the candour to mention his name, GIAMBATTISTA VICO, has satisfactorily explained the origin of giants and heroes. Giants, he says, were sons of the earth, that is, they were the only persons who possessed lands, and lorded it over those who lived upon their territories. The lord of the land, or feudal lord who brought his vassals into the field, gave them all the name which he himself took from his castle or possessions; and they were therefore called *Toulouse*, *Bouillon*, &c. &c. It was easy for poets to attribute the glorious exploits of *Toulouse*, that is of all the army brought into the field by the lord of that city, to the chief himself personally, provided that his valour were such as to leave no suspicion that the praise was ironical. Something of the same kind occurs among ourselves in familiar phraseology, when we say that the *Duke of Wellington* beat the French, or *Buonaparte* the Austrians.[a] Considering in like manner that *Tancredi* and *Boe-*

[a] In Germany it was the duty of followers to attribute even their own feats to their lord. Sua (comitum) quoque fortia facta gloriæ principis adsignare præcipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant: comites pro principe. TACIT. *de Mor. Ger.* § 14.

mond were names comprehending the whole of their followers, we may understand how the Moslems seriously doubted whether those two heroes could really eat two thousand cows and four thousand pigs at each of their dinners, as was reported.[b]

It has been observed that poets could easily have attributed the actions of a whole army to its chief, as there can be no doubt that, originally, historical records were written in poetry.[c] Poets were favoured by the chieftains, because the reputation for power and bravery, which the song of the bard conferred, was of real service for increasing the importance and influence of the persons thus celebrated.[d] It rendered them dreaded by their

[b] Nonne Boamondus et Tancredus manducant in uno quoque prandio duo millia vaccas et quatuor millia porcos? *Gesta Franc. et Al. Hier.* lib. iv. § 22.

[c] Celebrant (Germani) carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoria et annalium genus est.... Tuistonem Deum. TACIT. *de Mor. Germ.* § 2. The same writer tells us that in his own days the valour of Arminius was celebrated by the Barbarians (i. e. Germans) in their songs. *Annal.* ii. 88. (Islandiae) incolae .... historiam rerum magnifice gestarum habentes .... sui temporis adhuc acta conscribunt, quae et cantibus et rhythmis recolunt. OLAI MAGNI *Hist. Gent. Septen.* lib. ii. c. v.

[d] In Ireland every chief had by law one bard allotted to him, to record the achievements of his family. RITSON, *Hist. Essay on Nation. Songs.* See also WALKER's *Hist. Mem. of the Irish Bards*, p. 9. 'In Hungarie, says Sir Philip Sidney, I have seen it the manner, at all feastes and other such like meetings, to have songs of their ancestors' valour, which that right souldier-like nation think one of the cheefest kindlers of brave courage.' RITSON, ibid.

foes[e] while it augmented the number of their friends and adherents. Hence arms were one of the most ancient and constant themes of poetry. In a rude age sensual passions are more excited, and their gratification is one of the *rights* of the strongest. The poets who celebrated the feats of heroism sang of love in its simplest form, because the fairest belonged to the bravest in reward of his bravery. The ideas of valour and love were thus closely connected; and hence Mars was represented as the favourite of Venus. In the Odyssey, Demodocus sings of love and of arms. He is one of the most ancient *Bards*, *Minstrels*, *Troubadours*, *Trouveres*, *Poets*, *Scalds*, *Shapers*, *Verse-Makers*, or whatever else we may chose to call them, on record.[f] The efforts made by various writers to trace the Troubadours to different countries, are really ridiculous. For what is a *Troubadour*, but a *Poet*, one who *finds* or *makes?* and who shall ascribe poetry to any one nation as its peculiar gift? My esteemed friend and colleague, Dr. Rosen, professor of oriental languages in the University of London, whose talents and erudition are equalled only by his gentleness and unassuming manners, in a lecture delivered by him at the opening of the classes of

[e] Ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant. Tacit. *de Mor. Germ.* § 13.

[f] Sir W. Jones mentions a very old Arabian Poet, who, as usual, sang of love and of arms. He says: Nobilissima sunt in hoc genere Abi'l ola carmina . . . . Bella principis tamquam venatoris potentissimi describit; hinc ad amores suos, more Arabico, transit. *Poes. Arab. Com.* c. xvi.

languages in the university for the present session, 1829-30, has stated where we should look for the origin of poetry; and I am indebted to his friendship for permission to publish the following passage on the present occasion.

'The sound of language is not only articulate, it is also rhythmical. The articulations themselves of our voice divide language into minute particles, which we call syllables, and the relative proportion of the corresponding particles of time consumed in the pronunciation of these syllables is what we call *rhythmus*. By its rhythmical character language has become the organ of an art which is almost as old as mankind itself; I mean the art of poetry. Of all the various arts, *poetry* is the most truly spiritual; for, its materials are dying sounds, and the proportions of its structure are proportions of fugitive time. Historical records reach not so far back as to furnish us with the name of him who first attempted rhythmical composition. In that golden age of youth when language stood in the prime of its beauty, it arranged, as through an unconscious impulse, its accents into harmonious verse. It is this unrestrained and almost spontaneous play of syllables, which we meet with in the ancient heroic poetry of the Indians. In a more advanced age, a refined theory of metrical composition was formed, the most admired creations of which we find in the unparalleled poetry of the Greeks.'

In its earliest ages poetical language was employed to give utterance to the strong feelings

produced by those objects which most powerfully excited the imagination or the passions. Nothing could more strongly excite either, than the valour of heroism, or the charms of beauty.[g] The emotion awakened by heroic exploits, or by the thrillings of love, were therefore celebrated together, before all others, because being the most fascinating, they were the most poetical of all themes. QUADRIO has expressed rather jesuitically, but neatly, how it happened that love and valour were blended in the earliest poetical compositions. He says: La forza e il valore nelle cose di guerra erano quelle qualità che in que' primi tempi più sorprendevano, per cui riescivano altri fondatori di città, altri liberatori delle patrie, altri autori della pubblica felicità, ed altri quasi genii tutelari dei popoli; i più accreditati però nelle militari azioni erano il soggetto delle loro poesie. Per l'inclinazione naturale che si ha di ornare tutto quello che si ama e che si vuol rendere agli altri amabile, si applicavano nel

[g] Necesse est omnino jucundissima poesis sit ea, cujus materia suavissimus sit animi motus et omnium mortalium communis, Amor: quo, si ex pulchritudinis specie, et admiratione oritur, nihil jucundius; si ex benigna voluntate puraque amicitia, nihil aut utilius aut honestius: nam de Platonicis non loquor, qui amorem ex divinæ perfectionis in superiore vita spectatæ recordatione oriri autumabant. Ac neminem existisse opinor, quem pulchritudinis splendor non permoverit et accenderit; nec ulla umquam fuit gens tam ferrea, quin poematis genus habuerit ad amoris affectus exponendos idoneum. *Sir* W. JONES, *Poes. Asiat. Com.* cap. xv.

tempo stesso i compositori a rilevare coi più vivi colori la beltà dell' eroica fortezza, e a renderla con tutte l'arti possibili più maravigliosa che mai. Ma come le genti, avendo alle loro stimolanti concupiscenze conceduto poco a poco libero il freno, eran grandemente immerse nel senso e dedite oltremmodo a' piaceri, era una conseguenza naturale che attaccassero a' medesimi loro eroi quegli appetiti che ne vedevano inseperabili; e il segreto piacere di veder ricopiate in così rigguardevoli esemplari le loro passioni, dovette aguzzar loro l'ingegno a dipignerle in essi con tutti i vezzi. Così nacquero i *Romanzi*; quelle storie favolose, cioè, che congiungendo con dilettoso artifizio ne' loro favolosi racconti le dette cose fecero quini soggetto de' loro Romanzi[h]

" Le Donne, i Cavalier, l'arme e gli amori."

The songs in honor of heroes being, in fact, the national annals, the descendants of those thus celebrated were anxious for the preservation of such records;[i] since whatever may be the speculative opinions of politicians relative to hereditary aristocracy, certain it is that, in an infant state of society, the belonging to the privileged

[h] *Stor. e rag. d'ogni Poes.* lib. ii. dis. i. cap. i. part i.

[i] When a young Arabian has composed a good poem, all the neighbours pay their compliments to his family, and congratulate them on having a relation capable of recording their actions, and of recommending their virtues to posterity. *Sir* W. JONES, *Ess. on the Poet. of the East. Nat.*

order must prove of the highest moment.[k] The nation at large had an equal interest in perpetuating the memory of ancient glories, as the most powerful means of exciting the descendants to imitate their forefathers. Hence, in the earliest ages, the praises of heroes were made the means of awakening noble emulation, and were sung at the moment of attacking an enemy.[l] This preservation of the songs commemorative of ancient warriors, was one of the occupations of Charlemagne. We are told that not only had he, while dining, read to him the exploits of the kings of old, but that he further collected all the most ancient popular songs, in which the actions and wars of those kings were celebrated; and that this collection he copied with his own hand, and learnt by heart.[m] A memorable instance of

[k] Insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita, principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis adsignant. TACIT. *de Mor. Germ.* § 13.

[l] Celebrare res præclare gestas ac virorum fortium virtutes, antiqua fuit Arabibus consuetudo. Neque est ullum poeseos genus utilius: nihil est enim præstabilius, quam animum ad virtutes impellere atque incendere; nihil porro ad eum finem consequendum efficacius, quam ea proferre exempla, quæ lector admiretur, et sibi imitanda proponat. *Sir* W. JONES, *Poes. Asiat. Comment.* cap. xvi. Fuisse apud eos (Germanos) et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in prælia canunt. TACIT. *de Mor. Germ.* c. ii.

[m] EGINHART, *Vit. Car. Magni.* POET. SAX. *de Ges. Car. Magni.* It has been questioned whether this Emperor knew how to write, and Mr. SISMONDI thinks not; an opinion founded on a very strong passage in EGINHART, who says;

the employment of popular songs for encouraging the soldiery in combat, is found in the history of the battle of Hastings, on which occasion the Normans began the attack, singing the song of Orlando.[n] This fact is related in a still more

Tentabat (Carolus) scribere . . . . sed parum prospere successit. In explanation of this it has been said, that the expression alluded to writing in a fine hand, and copying MSS. in a tasteful manner. Indeed EGINHART himself, as well as the SAXON POET, say that Charles actually copied the popular songs mentioned in the text. Here are his words: Barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus ac bella canebantur, scripsit memoriæque mandavit.' EGINHART, apud DUCHESNE, *vit. Car. Mag.* pag. 103, sub fin. And the SAXON POET, ibid. p. 182, says

Nec non quæ veterum depromunt prælia regum,
Barbara mandavit carmina litterulis.

A modern writer (LORENZ *de Car. Mag. Literar. Fautore)* agrees with SISMONDI, and contents himself by remarking on EGINHART'S first words: Non ignoro hunc locum aliter interpretatos esse omnes fere editores; sed quis non videt, sensum verborum, quibus usus est Einhardus, tam clarum esse ut quæcumque explicatio diversa extorta sit? page 4. And again, at page 44. Carmina, quibus veterum regum gesta canebantur, literis mandari jussit (Carolus Magnus). This *jussit* is not, however, in any of the authorities which might be adduced. This point may have been gone into somewhat at length; yet it is important that *facts* be well ascertained before a writer raises a system, or draws conclusions of a general nature, as has been done by many, who have taken it for granted that Charlemagne could not write, without so much as noticing the two passages above quoted, which, at least, deserve attention.

[n] MATT. PARIS, ad Ann. 1066. The song of Orlando was also sung on the stage to amuse the people during the middle ages. MURATORI, *Antiquit. Ital.* dis. xxix. It is

chivalrous manner by others, who tell us that *Taillefer*, a Norman, led the onset (by a special boon from William), singing of Roland, and Charlemagne, and of Olivier, who died at Roncesvalle; and that he fell, singing and giving battle.°

The song of Roland having been mentioned, it may be proper to add some account of that poem. Though now lost, it appears that it was sung at a comparatively modern period. We are told that, about the year 1304, a soldier having been reproached by King John, of France, for singing of Roland, when there were no more Rolands to be found, replied, 'Sire, the Rolands would not be wanting were there a Charlemagne

remarkable that during the middle ages this song was sung on the stage at Milan, in which city a romance relating the death of Roland was sung in the fifteenth century. Poggio, ridiculing one who wept over the fall of the Roman Empire, says; Hic par similis est viro Mediolanensi, qui die festo cum audisset unum ex grege cantorum, qui gesta heroum ad plebem decantant, recitantem mortem Rolandi qui septingentis jam ferme annis in prælio occubuit, cæpit acriter flere. *Facezie* quoted by Ritson in his *Dissert. on Rom. and Minstrel.* p. 38; who, as he never was pleased with any thing or any person, sees no wit in the allusion.

° 'Quant ils virent Normans venir
Mout veissiez Engleiz fremir . . . .
Taillefer qui mout bien chantoit,
Sur un cheval qui tost alloit,
Devant euls alloit chantant
De Kallemaigne et de Roullant,
Et d'Olivier de Vassaux,
Qui moururent en Rainschevaux.'

Qui quidem *Taillefer* a Gulielmo obtinuit ut primus in

to lead them.'[p] 'Mr. de TRESSAN,' says the Editor of WAY's *Fabliaux*, 'is of opinion that if any vestiges of this ancient war-song still remain, they must be sought among the peasants of the Pyrenees; and he adds, that the Marquis of *Vivier-Lausac*, whose estates were situated in those mountains, had collected several fragments which appear to belong to the poem in question. These fragments were combined by Mr. Tressan, and framed into the following sketch:

'O Roland honneur de la France
Que par toi mon bras soit vainqueur!
Dirige le fer de ma lance
A percer le front ou le cœur

hostes irrueret, inter quos fortiter dimicando occubuit. DUCANGE *Gloss.* ad verb. MINISTELLUS. The name *Taille fer* was celebrated as a remembrance of high chivalrous exploits in Normandy. Willelmus *Sector ferri* hoc cognomen adeptus est, quod loricatum Nortmannum in luctamine, ense proprio nomine *Corto*, per media pectoris et ventris secuit una tantum percussione. *Frag. Hist. Aquitan.* ap. DUCHESNE, *Scrip. Fran.* vol. ii. He was Count of Angouleme and some of his descendants succeeded him in that county. RITSON in his *Dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy* gives a translation of the lines quoted by DUCANGE. It is the following:

Telfair, who well could sing a strain
Upon a horse that went amain,
Before the Duke rode, singing loud
Of Charlemagne and Rowland good,
Of Oliver, and those vassals
Who lost their lives at Roncevals.

[p] LE GRAND's Preface to the *Contes et Fabliaux du xii. and xiii. Siècle.* This anecdote has been supposed spurious. Its authenticity does not signify much.

Du fier ennemi qui s'avance !
Que son sang, coulant à grands flots
De ses flancs, ou de sa visière,
Bouillonne encore sur la poussière
En baignant les pieds des chevaux !'

'Which may be thus translated :

'Oh Rolland ! the renown of France !
Urge my arm with conquering might !
Guide the steel-head of my lance
The proud front, or heart to smite,
Of what foe soe'er advance !
May I see life's gushing flood,
From shatter'd helm, or mangled side
Mix with dust its bubbling tide,
And bathe my courser's hoofs in blood.'

The authenticity of the fragment just quoted must be left entirely to the conscience of Mr. Tressan. The lines themselves appear to bear as much resemblance to the war songs of the middle ages, as does a symmetrically curled and powdered wig of the time of Louis XV. to the short hair of Bohemond.[q]

From these popular songs the long prose romances have been derived ; and to the latter the Italian poets were indebted for the subjects of their poems. The poetical romances of any length and well ascertained antiquity, are but improve-

[q] There are still extant some very old French and Latin verses in praise of Roland ; and it has been observed, that the 'Song of Roland' was perhaps one of these. When Richard Cœur de Lion arrived at the Christian camp before Ptolemais, he was received with popular songs, *populares cantiones*, which narrated the famous exploits of the ancients, *antiquorum præclara gesta*. Warton quoted by Ritson in his *Diss. on Rom. and Minstrel.* p. clxxxii.

ments on the originals now lost, which must necessarily have been brief, since the committing them to writing would have cost more trouble and expense than most men could afford, and the only means whereby they could have been preserved was to learn them by heart.[r] The fact of the prose romances having been taken from old popular songs, is so repeatedly avowed even in the books themselves, that no doubt can be reasonably entertained on the subject. And even were it not thus openly admitted, the bulky black-letter volumes afford sufficient internal evidence of it. The rhymes in question passing thus from mouth to mouth were subject to many alterations, partly owing to the ignorance, and partly to the fancy of

[r] Bisogna por mente, che come il costume della natura in tutte le cose è di progredire dalla meno perfetta alla più perfetta, e, dalle minime cominciando, sortir alle massime, il somigliante dovette avvenire in questa faccenda delle paraboliche e favolose invenzioni. Da principio quando una maggiore simplicità regnava nel mondo, meno macchinosi esser dovevano dell' umano ingegno i prodotti. La storia santa fa montar le parabole scritte da Salamone fino al numero di 3000, ed afferma di più ch'egli avea composti più di 1000 poemetti parabolici. Questi poemi non dovean essere troppo lunghi per dar luogo a così gran numero de' medesimi. Le nazioni più polite furono quelle che diedero loro una forma più grande, e adunando in un corpo diverse parti che andavan divise senz' ordine, formar ne dovettero alquante più lunghe poesie. Per mettere tutte le parole in poche, da principio i Romaneschi ritrovamenti non dovevano essere che piccole novelle e avventure, le quali poi combinate da' posteri in un solo poema, colligate fra esse co' dovuti rapporti, formarono quelle storie favolose e poetiche che furono poi Romanzi appellate. QUADRIO, *Stor. e Rag. d'ogni Poes.* lib. ii. dis. i. cap. i. part ii.

the *minstrels* who sang them; not unfrequently attributing the feats of one hero to another; shortening or extending the lay, or adding to it lines from some other ballad.[8] Thus it is that in old romances we are often perplexed by finding the same hero the son of different fathers, or living in two different countries, or even in two ages widely distant. On the other hand it seems inexplicable, how writers could so unblushingly copy from each other some of the most important events concerning their respective heroes. A striking illustration of this remark may be seen in the madness of Sir Launcelot and Sir Tristram.

The ancient songs being short, those who turned them into prose, and formed a long book from them, were obliged to make a kind of patchwork of their materials, in the best way possible, without much regard to the sources from whence such materials were taken. Hence subjects the most various, from several small poems, were arranged side by side, without any previous connexion having subsisted between them. This will account for the piece-meal peculiarity of the old romances (the *Amadis* excepted). No kind of order is observed in these compositions; and frequently the hero, from whom the work takes its name, is more rarely mentioned than many others in the book. Moreover, the prose romances, written in this style, abound in sudden starts and transitions from one subject to another: and we

[8] Sir W. Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. iii. p. 269.

have reason to be grateful when the author deigns to apprize us of his intentions to change the subject. We must be content if he does not enter on a topic altogether new, or recur to that which he so abruptly broke off, just when, after great trouble, we were becoming familiar with it. Writing, as these compilers professedly did, to reduce into prose the stories, which were already recorded in verse; and fearful lest they might be suspected of altering their text, they often referred to their originals, whether this were requisite or not; sometimes even for the purpose of sanctioning some alteration which they took the liberty to introduce. This will explain the formula so frequently to be met with at every other line; 'or dit le conte, or dit l'histoire, or dit le livre,' &c. The popular story tellers and romancers took, at a still later period, their compositions from these disjointed prose volumes, and by a rigorous adherence to the forms there adopted, the romanesque narrative poems gradually acquired a peculiar character and constituted a distinct species of epopee. Their unconnectedness, their frequent interruptions, and their quotations from Turpin or Alcuin are thus accounted for. The early juglars and minstrels, for their part, in order to gratify the depraved taste of their patrons, originally filled their songs with loose and immoral anecdotes, which were faithfully preserved by their prose translators.[1] 'When the

[1] *Juglars* and *Minstrels* were very properly called *scurrae*

feelings grown rude and callous can be excited only by the strongest stimulants; and when the mind does not, in a more refined age, recoil disgusted from the employment of such means, songs and tales are found to turn upon incidents the most horrible and unnatural. Thus we find that incest, parricide, in fine, crimes the most enormous, were the early themes celebrated by the Grecian Muse.'[u] These observations are equally applicable to the middle ages, and the subsequent romanesque narrative poets, faithfully following in their great works the track of their more humble predecessors, abound in stories of this description.

by the monks. *Leccator* was also a word signifying *minstrel*, from *leccare* to flatter; a word still used in that sense in Italian. From this word, *lecher* and its derivatives are formed; which sufficiently shews what description of persons the minstrels generally were. See DUCANGE in v. MINISTELLUS. 'The Celtæ,' says POSIDONIUS the Apamean, 'even in making war, carry with them table-companions, whom they call parasites. . . . . And these are the men termed bards.' RITSON, *A Hist. Essay on Nat. Songs*, p. xxxv. The Romans had, no doubt, their earliest history existing in lays, which were sung in turn at their tables, as was the case in the middle ages among most of the northern nations. CICER. *Tuscul.* iv. 2. PERCY, *Essay on ancient Eng. Minst.* In later days they had some licentious songs sung by *parasites* or *scurrae*.

Procul hinc, procul inde puellæ
Lenonum et cantus pernoctantis parasiti.
Maxima debetur puero reverentia.

JUVEN. *Sat.* xiv. 45.

[u] Sir W. SCOTT, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. iii. p. 296.

It is, however, proper to state that Ariosto, objectionable as he occasionally is with regard to his subjects, never indulges in the disgusting terms employed even by his immediate predecessors. The Italians have been reproached with the licentiousness of their poets. Yet in a similar state of society the poets of all nations have been the same. But it is a glory peculiar to Italy, that, at a period when this freedom of expression was so common, she possessed a man like Petrarca who could write with such purity and delicacy upon a subject, purposely selected by others for the indulgence of vulgar language and immoral imagery.

If the original destination of poetry were in every nation of the world to celebrate the glorious actions of heroes, one of the provinces of England, possessing one of the most ancient languages extant, would seem to have surpassed all other countries in the application of the art. All the chivalrous fictions, since spread throughout Europe, appear to have had their birth in Wales. Du Caylus and Legrand have pretended, in a manner the most flippant and unfair, that all the romances of Arthur and his court were but imitations of the old French romances concerning Charlemagne. The very reverse is the fact, since the romances treating of this emperor and of his most renowned chiefs, may be strongly suspected of British extraction. The songs in praise of Arthur belong to a very remote period, and some of them, still in existence, bear

indubitable marks of very high antiquity. When the Britons occupied that part of France to which they gave their name, and which was subsequently conquered by the Normans (who, settling there, in turn gave their name to a portion of it) they unquestionably brought with them their traditions and customs. So famous were their lays in France, that the French *trouvères* were accustomed to cite the British originals as vouchers for the truth of their stories,[v] whilst some of them were translated by MARIE DE FRANCE. A glance at these translations will shew the lays to be of British origin: and were this of itself doubtful, the authoress of the translation honestly avows the fact; an avowal which Mr. LEGRAND insists on disbelieving.[w] Truly, it must appear somewhat singular that the learned critic pretends to be

[v] Bien de gens ne regardent les lays que comme de fables. J'ai cependant mes garans pour toutes les aventures de ceux que j'ai faits. Elles ont été chanteés en Bretagne et ailleurs. On en conserve à Carlion les originaux, et c'est dans cette source authentique que je vais puiser encore celle que vous allez entendre. LE GRAND, *Fabliaux*, &c. vol. iv. p. 103.

[w] Marie de France dit de traduire elle-même de l'Anglais en Français . . . . Nos fabliers et nos romanciers surtout emploient (cette expression) très fréquemment, quand ils veulent traiter un sujet de la table-ronde. Rarement ils le commencent sans annoncer qu'ils l'ont tiré d'une Biblioteque d'Angleterre, ou des archives compilés sous le roi Artus. Pour quiconque connait l'ancienne romancerie, ces formules triviales ne signifient rien: il n'en est point dupe. LE GRAND, ibid. p. 329.

better acquainted with the origin of these poems, than even the person by whom they were written. The practice of translating the lays of Wales into modern languages was adopted by CHAUCER himself:[x] and the system of narrating stories or jests, was particularly well received in Normandy;[y] where, as is generally the case, the new settlers made the fables of the original inhabitants, or αυτοχθενες their own. In TURPIN's book, and in Maugis' romance, mention is made of a Count of Nantes named Oel, as being one of the heroes of Charlemagne; and by the romances of the Round

[x] Thise olde gentil Bretons in hir dayes
Of diverse aventures maden layes,
Rimeyed in hir firste Breton tonge:
Which layes with hir instruments they songe,
Or elles redden hem for hir plesance
And on of hem have I in remembrance,
Which I shal sayn, with good wille as I can.
Frankleines Tale.

[y] Usages est en Normandie
Que qui hebergiez est, qu'il die
Fable ou chanson die a son oste.
BARBAZAN, *Pref.* vol. iii. p. 11.

It seems that the Normans were so fond of these popular tales or lays, that even during long processions, while the clergy took breath and discontinued psalm-singing, the women began singing some of the profane lays, *nugaces cantilenas.* LE GRAND's Preface to his collection of *Fabliaux and Contes.* In the same manner they celebrated the lives of saints as we gather from ORDERIC VITAL. ap. DUCHESNE, *Rer. Norman. Scrip.* p. 598; and it seems that these lays were sung on church-festivals or on the Sabbath, whereas the ballads on profane subjects were reserved for the other days of the week.

Table we find him father of *Iseutte aux Blanches Mains*, Sir Tristram's wife.[z] We have already seen that it was a Norman who sang the song of Orlando, and in due time we shall have occasion to observe how intimately connected is the very name of this hero with Wales and Little Brittany.

The coincidence of the name of Hoel being mentioned both in the romances of Charlemagne, and in those of the Round Table is not the only one of sufficient importance to call for remark. Were it so, it might be deemed of little value,

[z] *Sir Tristram*, vol. i. p. 55. Yet in this same volume page 21 it is said that Meliadus, Tristram's father, married a second time la fille au Roy Houel de Nantes de la petite Bretagne, qui moult estoit belle, et iolye, et bien envoisiée et malicieuse. The same is said in the introduction to King Meliadus' Romance. This is an instance either of the blunder of copyists, narrators, compilers, or minstrels, who confounded the father with the son; or is the error likely to result from a similarity of names. The Hoel here mentioned was a celebrated character with the Armorican bards, and his name often occurs in the ancient romances. Ritho, a Spanish giant, (why not a Saracen?) carried off his niece Helena (is this a classical tradition?) and from a castle in Cornwall, whither he had retired, he committed great devastation till he was slain by King Arthur. He wore a coat made of the beards of kings whom he had killed, and a place was left for Arthur's, which this hero probably filled with Ritho's. GODEF. MONEM. *Gest. Reg. Brit.* lib. x. cap. xiii. In MERLIN, part ii., we find another *Hoel* mentioned as King of *Haraman*. (Is it Ar-mon, namely, 'the country opposite to Mona?' See Sir W. SCOTT's notes to *Sir Tristram*, on the word *Ermonie*. Mr. ELLIS suspects it to mean Brittany. *Specimens*, i. 249, note.) *Howel* is a peculiarly Welsh name, and in the olden time there were kings of that name in Wales, as well as in Brittany.

doubts having been thrown on the authenticity of the passage.[a] But there are many other circumstances which closely connect the history of Charlemagne and his heroes with that of the Welsh fictions. Morgain, the fairy, is manifestly of Welsh origin: according to a Welsh tradition, King Arthur is supposed to be living still at Avallon; and, in the romance of *Ogier le Dannois*, we are informed that, after having spent several years in fairy land with Morgain and her brother Arthur, he re-appeared, and once more made war upon the Saracens, and then he finally vanished.[b] But though he was never seen again, the author remarks that there is no reason why he should not be living still, or, if not living, gone to Paradise.[c] Even Bajardo is represented

[a] Mr. DOUCE in his notes to WARTON'S *Hist. of Eng. Poet.* vol. i. p. 21, says that 'the passage from Turpin in the best mss. refers to Ogier King of Denmark, whose name is omitted in that followed by the editor of Turpin's History quoted by Warton.' I have seen mss. in which the passage is omitted altogether and one (Harl. 108.) where it is referred to Namo. In two or three mss. (Royal 1301 and Harl. 2500) it is referred to Ogier, but it is not clear that these mss. are better than the others. In the best edition of TURPIN, edited by CIAMPI (Florence, Molini, 1822), the passage refers to Oel and particular mention is repeatedly made of Ogier in another part of the chapter.

[b] This fiction may have originated in the circumstance of the same name having belonged to several heroes who lived at different times.

[c] On peut presumer sans difficulté qu' Ogier est encore en vie du vouloir de dieu, ou qu' il est passé en la gloire avecque ses bienheureux; en laquelle (in due time, of course)

in the French romances, to be yet alive in some of the forests of France,[d] but having been offended

nous nous puissions voir tous et toutes pardurablement. Amen. And so ends the romance. 'According to popular belief, *Thomas the Rymer* still *frees his waird* in fairy land and is one day expected to revisit earth.' Sir W. SCOTT, *Minstrel. of the Scot. Bord.* ii. 249.

[d] This story concerning Bajardo being nearly drowned and now living in some wild wood, is evidently and undoubtedly of British origin, as can be proved from the lays of MARIE DE FRANCE. 'A late critic (Mr. RITSON) has denied the Armorical origin of these lays; but it is quite needless to discuss his opinions concerning a work which he had manifestly neglected to read, or was unable to understand.' ELLIS, ii *Appendix* to the *Introduct. to Spec. of Ear. Eng. Met. Rom.* There are two *Lays* among those of MARIE, one entitled *Sir Launfal* and the other *Sir Graelent*, the ground work of which is the same, but the incidents varied. The scene of the former is laid in Wales, at the Court of King Arthur; of the latter, in Brittany under a king and queen whose names are not mentioned. Both lays have been often published in old French, as well as in old English, extracted in modern French, and translated into modern English. The reader may see them in these different dresses in BARBAZAN, *Fabliaux et Contes*, vol. iv. *Poésies de* MARIE DE FRANCE, pub. by ROQUEFORT, vol. i. RITSON, *Metric. Roman.* vol. i. and vol. iii. note. WAY'S *Fabliaux*, vol. ii. and iii. LE GRAND, *Fabliaux*, vol. i. In both these lays the knights are carried by a fairy, their *sweet friend*, to Avalon, where they are said by the *British* poets, who wrote the original lay, to be still living.

Quant la Pucele ist fors de l'us,
Sor le palefroi dérier li
De plain eslais Lanvax sali.
Od li s'en vait en Avalon,
Ce nus racuntent li Breton,
En une isle qui mut est biax,
Là fu ravis li Damoisiax.

with Charlemagne, who basely attempted to have him drowned, he became a misanthrope, and now

E nus n' en oï plus parler,
Ne jeo n' en sai avant cunter.

MARIE DE FRANCE, *Lai de Lanval.*

On her tall steed he sprang with vigorous bound;
Thenceforth their footsteps never wight has found.
But 'tis the Breton tale they both are gone
To the fair isle of fertile Avalon;
There in the lap of love for ever laid,
By sorrow unassail'd, in bliss embay'd,
They make their won: for me where-e'er they dwell
No farther tale befalls me here to tell.

WAY's translation.

Sir Graelent would have been drowned in crossing a river, as he insisted on following his beloved fairy, who was leaving him for ever, to punish him for his indiscretion, had not the heart of the cruel lady been melted to pity. She ran to his assistance.

Hastiuement est returnée,
A la rivière en est alée,
Par le flancs saisist son ami,
Si l' en amaine ensanble od li.
Quant d'autre part sunt arivés,
Ses dras mulliés li a osté,
De sun mantel l' a afublé,
En sa terre l' en ad mené,
Encor dient cil du païs
Que Graelent i est tous vis.

MARIE DE FRANCE, *Sir Graelent.*

Her knight she now with snowy arm sustains,
And wakes the stagnant life-blood in his veins:
Awhile he rests upon the flowery strand,
Then both together part for fairy land.
Rife goes the Breton tale Gruelan's lot
Is with the fairy still, where death is not.

WAY's translation.

runs off on beholding any one; on which account all hope of securing him is vain. The writer

No mention is made in the French lay of the horse of Sir Launfal. That of Sir Graelent, however, is not forgotten.

Ses destriers qui d'eve eschapa,
Pur sun Segnur grant dol mena:
En la forest fist son retur,
Ne fut en pais ne nuit ne jur;
De piés grata, furment heni,
Par la cuntrée fu oï.
Prendre cuident è retenir,
Unques nus d'aus nel' pot saisir.
Il ne voleit nului atendre,
Nus ne le puet lacier ne prendre.
Mut lunc-tant après l'oï-un
Chascun an en cele saisun,
Que se Sire parti de li,
La noise, et le freinte, et le cri
Ke li bons chevaus demenot
Pur sun Seignur que perdu ot.
L'aventure du bun destrier,
L'aventure du Chevalier
Cum il s'en ala od sa Mie,
Fu par tute Bretaigne oïe,
Un Lai en firent li Bretun,
Graalent-Mor l' appela-un.

M. de FRANCE, *Sir Graelent.*

Mr. WAY in his translation calls the horse Gedefer; and in the old English of *Launfal Miles*, which we shall presently quote, one *Gyfre* is mentioned as the fairy's knave, whom she gives along with the steed Blaunchard to Sir Launfal.

I yeve the Baunchard my stede lel (true)
An Gyfre my owen knave.

RITSON says that 'no such names occur in the original.' It is

thinks it prudent to mention this fact, lest any of his readers should try to catch so noble a steed,

difficult to believe that the word *Gyfre*, so much like *Gedefer*, is an addition, and that, as it is pretended, *Gedefer* is a misreading of the word *destriers*, which was mistaken for *gesdefers* by SAINTE PALAYE and LE GRAND, from whose collection Mr. WAY translated the lays of MARIE, which were not then printed. See BARBAZAN (MEON'S edit.), vol. iv. p. 72. note. ROQUEFORT, *Poésies* de M. DE FRANCE, vol. i. p. 338. The following is the translation :

But for the palfrey Gedefer, who stood
Reft of his lord beside that wondrous flood,
As with his loss distraught the peerless steed,
Spurn'd the green sward, and madly scour'd the mead ;
Shrill doleful neighings night and day were heard,
And still amain he fled when man appear'd.
So pass'd his life : e'en now, tradition holds,
Oft as that day the circling year unfolds,
By the stream side is seen the steed forlorn,
And for his fruitless search is heard to mourn.
Soon through the land the dittied story spread
Of the good knight and of his faithful steed :
And some choice mind, in rhyme's propitious day,
From the rude strain wrought out GRUELAN'S LAY.

In the old English version of the story, entitled *Launfal Miles*, the steed of Launfal is not forgotten, and out of two lays, one seems to have been made, with *improvements ;* that is with many additions and interpolations, but without any allusion whatever either to British or French originals. THOMAS CHESTRE very modestly claims the merit to himself of having *made the tale.*

The Lady lep on her palfray,
And bad hem all have good day,
Sche wolde no longer abyde.

unequalled save by Alexander's, and that brought by Ogier from fairy land, which last breathed

Wyth that come Gyfre all so prest,
Wyth Launfalys stede out of the forest,
And stod Launfal besyde.

The knygt to hors he gan to sprynge,
Anoon, without any lettynge,
Wyth hys lemman away to ryde.
The Lady tok her maydenys echon,
And went the way that sche had er gon,
Wyth solas and wyth pryde.

The Lady rod forth [of] Cardeuyle.
Far into a jolyf ile.
Olyroun that hygte;
Everych yer, upon a certayn day,
Me may here Launfales stede nay (neigh),
And hym se wyth sygt.

Ho that wyll ther axsy justes,
To kepe hys armes [fro] the rustes,
In tournement, other fygt,
Dar he never forther gon;
Ther he may fynde justes anon,
Wyth Syr Launfal the knygt.

Thus Launfal, wythouten fable,
That noble knygt of the round table,
Was take ynto Fayrye:
Seythe (since) saw hym yn thys land no man,
Ne no more of hym tell y ne can,
For sothe wythoute lye.

Thomas Chestre made thys tale,
Of the noble knygt Syr Launfale,
Good of Chyvalrye:
Jesus that ys Hevene Kyng,
Geve us all hys blessyng,
And hys moder Marye! Amen.

fire.[e] Further proofs might be adduced of the connection between the British traditions, and the romance of Charlemagne. According to the genealogy of their principal heroes Constantine was born in England, his father having married Helen, daughter of Coel, king of Colchester.[f] Through him it was that the French heroes derived their descent from Hector. Buovo d'Antona (Bevis of Hampton) was great-great-grandfather to Orlando and Rinaldo. William, one of the sons of Buovo, was king of England, and who is ignorant of the near relationship between Astolpho, son of Otho

Of the *jolyf ile* Avalon, or Olyroun, something will be said when we shall land at any *jolyf ile* in BOJARDO.

[e] Bayard ung tel cheval que oncque ne fut le pareil, ne jamais ne sera; après le cheval du grand Alexander, et aussi après le cheval du vaillant Ogier le Dannoys qu' il rammena quant il revint de Faerie; car il gettoit feu par la guelle.

[f] The name of Constantine was common among the kings of Scotland in the ninth and tenth century, and it is remarkable that those who bore that name were connected with the Danes or *Normans*, either as foes or as allies. In 406, induced by the flattering name, the British soldiery selected one Constantine from the ranks, and decorated him with the imperial garments. TURNER, *Ang. Sax.* ii. 7. This was in fact the Constantine of romancers, who, however, misled by the name, supposed him to be Constantine the Great, just as they did with Charlemagne, who was a compound of many other sovereigns called *Charles*, as shall be fully demonstrated hereafter. Nerino is made to say in the *Reali di Francia:* Io sono stato grand' amico di Costantino, e trovammi con lui in Bretagna quando fu fatto Imperadore. Costantino era capitano de' Romani per l'Imperador di Roma. lib. i. c. xiii.

king of this country, and the noble race of Chiaramonte?

The opinion that all romances originally came from Wales was supported by La Croze, as will be seen from the subjoined quotation,[g] and this conjecture seems to receive fresh confirmation from the following fact, which is transcribed from Ritson: 'In Leland's *Collectanea* (i. 230) are "Thinges excerptid (by himself) out of an old Englisch boke yn ryme of the gestes of Guarine and his sunnes." The story appears to have commence'd with the time of William the Conquerour, and the extracts are exceedingly interesting. Fulco, the real hero of the romance call'd by Leland "Fulco the Secunde," was one of the four sons of Fulco *primus*, son of Guarine or Waryn, who appears to have been a Lord-marcher, on the borders of Wales, as were his son and grandson after him, the latter being appointed by Richard I. "John, sun to King Henry," it is said, "and Fulco (the elder) felle at variance at chestes, and John brake Fulco hed with the chest-borde; and then Fulco gave him such a blow that he had almost killid him."[h] "Morice," it seems, "sunne

[g] 'Tous les romans de chevalerie doivent leur origine à la Bretagne et au pays de Galles dont notre Bretagne est sortie.' Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poet.* vol. iv. p. 307.

[h] Here Ritson observes that the like circumstance occurs in *Ogier*, the *Filz-Aymon*, and *Galyen le rethoré*, the latter of which I have not seen. But he has omitted to mention that it occurs also in Guy of Warwick, where 'Fabour is invited by the King of Persia to play with him at chess; and being unfortunately better skilled in that game than in

to Roger that had Whitington-castle gyven to him by the Prince of Wales, was made governer of the Marchis by King John, that yn nowise lovid Fulco Guarin. Moryce desire'd to have the title of Whitington confermed to hym by the brode seale of King John, to whom he sent a cursore, well trappid, to Balduines castel and obtained his purpose." Upon this "Fulco and his brethren with Balduine desired justes of King John for Whitington, but he could have no gratius answer. Wherfore he and his bretherne forsakid their homage to King John and went from Winchester." They afterward "laid wait for Morice as he went toward Salsbury, and Fulco then woundid hym and Bracy cut of Morice heed." The whole of his adventures are too numerous to repeat. But one which deserves to be notice'd, is that "Fulco resortid to one John of Raumpayne, a *sothsayer* and *jocular*, and made him his spy to Morice at Whittington. He founde the meanes to caste them that kept Bracy (who being sore wounded had been taken and brought to Audelegh to King John) into a deadely slepe, and so he and Bracy cam to Fulco, to Whiting-

the arts of a courtier, has the imprudence to give check-mate to the haughty son of the Soudan, who, offended by his presumption, wounded him on the head with the chess-board. Fabour very humbly, and, it must be confessed, very reasonably, remonstrates against this mode of commenting on the game; but his arguments having no other effect than to inflame the fury of his antagonist, he seizes the chess-board in his turn, and, with one blow, lays the prince dead at his feet.' Ellis, *Specimens*. ii. 64.

ton." Leland, having stateëd that "Fulco was taken by the Soldan (in Barbary) and brought onto him," says, "Here lakkid a quayre or ii in the olde Englisch booke of the nobile actes of the Guarines, and these thinges that folow, I translated owte of an olde French historie yn rime of the actes of the Guarines onto the death of Fulco the 2." The popularity of the French or Engleish poem (the former being indisputablely the original) had cause'd some one to reduce, or epitomise, the story into French prose; and a fragment of this MS., apparently of the age of Edward the Second, is fortunately preserved in the Kings library (12 C xii) where the anecdote allready mention'd from Lelands extracts wil be hereafter relateëd.'[1] The anecdote here alluded to is that of the soothsayer John of Rampayne delivering Bracy who was going to be hanged next morning. Ritson has not deigned to inform us why the French is *indisputablely* the original. Any one who has noticed how all the French romances and their heroes are in some way or other connected with Brittany, will be inclined to form the opposite conclusion. This story of *Fulco*, as also that in the *quatre Filz-Aymon*, and in many other romances exactly like this, are evidently taken from older traditions, new names being sub-

[1] *Dissert. on Rom. and Minstrelsy.* § 3. John of Rampayne, the soothsayer who delivers Bracy, is, with few alterations, the original of Maugis escaping from the hands of Charlemagne, who was likewise going to hang him. *Les quatre Filz-Aymon.* ch. xvi.

stituted in place of the old ones by the narrators. The name of *Balduin* we find occurring in LELAND's extract, and in the Spanish ballad 'El Marques de Mantua.' RITSON may be right in saying that this romance, as it now stands, is a translation from the French; yet this affords no proof against the romance and all the rest of these stories having originated in Welsh traditions. The names of the heroes and of places may easily have been changed by flattery, ignorance, or caprice, but the substance of the narrative is invariably the same. The story travelled through all the countries of Europe, and after it had been clothed in the costume of each, it could with difficulty be stripped of its ornaments, and restored to its native place and genuine simplicity.

From the romances of the Round Table the great Italian poets have taken, not the subject of an entire poem, but merely hints, respecting some episodes, or secondary stories. But if we are not indebted to these romances for a good poem, we owe to one of them some of the most touching circumstances in a passage of the greatest Italian poet, the episode of *Francesca d'Arimino* in the fifth canto of DANTE's *Inferno*. ERASMO DA VALVASONE began the composition of Sir Lancelot in *ottava rima*, but did not proceed beyond four cantos, which have been published, and are said to be worthy of the author.[j] The attention of the

[j] I have never met with this poem. The author wrote some others, among which is one in three cantos, entitled

Italian poets was turned exclusively to Charlemagne's romances; nor are their reasons for so doing difficult to discover. The further we proceed in this inquiry, the more shall we be convinced of the truth of a maxim, laid down by one for whose brilliant talents, delicate taste, and profound erudition, every one who enjoyed his friendship must entertain the highest respect; that it has been the endeavour of the great poets of Italy, in their narrative poems, to ennoble the rude and vulgar tales adopted by the popular story-tellers and strolling minstrels of Italy.[k] The stories concerning Charlemagne and Orlando possessed in some degree a national interest for an Italian, which is not found in those relative to Arthur and his knights. Orlando was in fact an Italian hero, he having been born at Sutri near Rome.[l] Olivieri also was an Italian, his father having been Roman governor under the Pope.[m]

l'Angeleida, which it is clear that MILTON read, and did not disdain to imitate. The *Giron Cortese* by ALAMANNI, is from a romance of the Round Table, but it is a poem not worth mentioning by the side of those of PULCI, BOJARDO and ARIOSTO. See SOUTHEY, *Pref. to* ***MORTE D'ARTHUR.*** § 14.

[k] See *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxi. p. 486. This article was written by UGO FOSCOLO.

[l] DOLCE, *Prim. Impres. d'Orl.* c. iii. st. 33.

[m] Ibid. st. 66. Even Rome was governed by one of Charlemagne's peers. We are told that a certain event took place when it was under the direction of the *dozeperis. Marchantes Tale* quoted by WARTON, *Observ. on Fairy Queen*, vol. i. p. 253. Dozepere signified a single knight.

Bigge looking, like a doutie douzepere.

SPENSER, *F. Q.* iii. 10. 31. quoted ibid.

With regard to Charlemagne, his unbounded submission to the church had, owing to the praises of the clergy, rendered his name venerable with the people, while his victories in Italy had given him a fearful and heroic fame. In Italy he fought against the enemies of the church; and for this, an unjust and unprincipled aggressor, who robbed his infant nephews of their patrimony and probably of their lives; who put away his lawful wife and lived in open adultery all his days; who caused 4,500 of his enemies, delivered up to him by their own government, to be massacred in cold blood; this man was extolled by the clergy as a saint deserving the popular veneration; as a model of a christian hero and king; legitimate, no doubt, he having been anointed by the sovereign pontiff. But the great popularity of Charlemagne may be referred to his successful wars against the Saracens, whose ravages, piracies, and cruelties were more felt and feared in Italy than in any other country, Spain and the south of France excepted. Arthur and his knights of the Round Table were unconnected with any exploits of this nature. The enemies of Arthur are, it is true, said in the romances to have been *Pagans*, and even *Saracens*, but he did not make war upon them in this character.[n] It was but a secondary

[n] Artù con molta bella Baronia fece per la fede di Cristo. *Real. di Fr.* lib. i. cap. xii. Fiovo . . . . udiva biasimare il re Artù, che era stato re di Brittania, perchè non avea acquistato molti paesi e fattoli fare Cristiani. Ibid. c. xxiii. This same reproach to Arthur, of not having made war against the Saracens, occurs repeatedly in that romance.

and fortuitous circumstance; while, on the other hand, Charlemagne went forth in the true spirit of a crusader, as the champion of Christianity, against Mahometanism. Although, in the language of the romancers, *Mahometan* and *Heathen* were considered synonyms, yet the *Mahometans* were the *kind* of heathens most hated and dreaded; nor did Charlemagne, according to the romancers, acquire much honour by fighting against the Saxons, real heathens as they were, or by forcing them to submit to baptism. But as the hero of Christianity he had delivered Jerusalem (said the romancers) from the hands of the Saracens; he had defeated them, and received from them the most submissive embassies;[o] had

[o] Besides what occurred in the case of the Saracen Emirs in Spain, and of which I shall speak hereafter, Charlemagne received, in 801, ambassadors from the famous Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid, who, amongst other presents (such as a clock striking the hours, by means of human figures, which came forth hourly during the day from certain windows, through which they retired at the last hour, shutting them as they withdrew; an elephant, &c.) sent to the Emperor the standard of Jerusalem and the keys of the holy sepulchre, as though he designed to invest the Christian Monarch with the sovereignty of the place. Another embassy from the same quarter arrived at the Court of Charlemagne in 807. These facts, which seem to be authentic, though there is some confusion about dates, were the origin of the traditions concerning the conquest of Jerusalem by Charlemagne. The clock above mentioned was preserved in the Cathedral of Tours up to the close of the last century, and was an irrefragable testimony of the esteem in which Charlemagne was held among the Moslems.

driven them back to the parts whence they first came; and, in fine, had preserved women from violence, men from slavery, churches from plunder, and Christianity itself from annihilation in the fairest parts of the world.

By thus identifying Charlemagne with Christianity it was, that the romancers rendered his character and his reign so highly poetical. The idea that, had it not been for this sovereign, we should perhaps now be in a state similar to that of the Greeks during the last four or five centuries, has of late been urged in excuse or palliation of the crusades; but this remark is as old as Pulci. There is perhaps more truth in it than is generally believed by those who speak contemptuously of the crusades. In our own days we may easily and gravely denounce them as wars of religion, and utter an edifying train of truisms against such wars. But were they not rendered *wars of religion* by the Saracens themselves, who pillaged and murdered the Christians merely because they were Christians? Were the latter to submit to be tortured, and maimed, and slaughtered, rather than sin against the philanthropic maxim of not waging a religious war? Were Englishmen now treated in France as Christians were then in Palestine, would not this be considered a just ground for the declaration of hostilities? The Italian romancers only amplified the dangers and valour of the Christians in their battles with the Saracens. The latter were, in fact, the assailants, and so they appear in the poems,

with this difference, that instead of attacking the extreme provinces of the empire, and a few nobles at the head of their vassals, they are supposed to assail the last bulwark of Christianity, and the flower of Christian chivalry. On the Saracens, therefore, falls all the dislike which we gènerally feel for the assailants. Concerning the choice of subjects by BOJARDO and ARIOSTO, more will be said in the lives which are to be prefixed to their poems. Presently we shall see what historical foundation there is for the siege of Paris by the Saracens, so often mentioned by the Italian romanesque poets.

It was about the time of the first crusade that the famous Romance of TURPIN, immortalized by BOJARDO and ARIOSTO, and quoted by most of the narrative poets of Italy, was written. The glory of TURPIN is, however, owing not so much to the number of stories which he tells, as to the multitude ascribed to him by BOJARDO and ARIOSTO who made him answerable for much that he never said.[p] BERNI would have us believe the worthy archbishop, even when he is guilty of falsehood, because of the respect we owe to his episcopal character.

> Perchè egli era Arcivescovo, bisogna
> Credergli, ancor che dica la menzogna;
> *Orl. Inn.* i. 18. 26.

But since, as another poet says, what TURPIN

[p] WARTON'S assertion is unaccountable, when he says that 'Bojardo and Ariosto copy Turpin's romance so faithfully.' *Obser. on* SPENSER'S *F. Q.* vol. i. p. 293.

relates is not an article of faith, the reader is left to his own discretion.

> Ma poi che'l non è articolo di fede,
> Tenete quella parte che vi piace,
> Che l'autor libramente vel concede.
>
> BELLO, *Mamb.* c. viii.

That one Turpin was Archbishop of Rheims in the time of Charlemagne seems certain; that he wrote the book which passes under his name[q] is manifestly untrue, from what he himself says when speaking of Oel, Count of Nantes,[r] where he distinctly alludes to events and persons of an older date. Since songs on Roland were existing at the time of the importation of Turpin's book into France, about which period it was probably composed,[s] there is reason for believing that the work itself was compiled from the lays respecting Charlemagne, in the same manner as that of GEOFFRY of Monmouth was from the lays relative to Arthur and his court, which were very

[q] The title of the book is as follows: Historia Turpini, Archiepiscopi Rhemensis, de Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi. See CIAMPI's Edition published at Florence, 1822. 8vo.

[r] De hoc canitur in cantilena usque in hodiernum diem. Ibid. 12.

[s] A certain Prior Godfrey, of St. Andrew's, at Vienne, in Dauphiné, wrote about 1092: Egregios invicti Regis Caroli triumphos, ac præcelsi comitis Rotolandi prædicandos agones in Hispania gestos nuper ad nos ex Esperia (Italy?) delatos gratanter accepi, et ingenti studio corrigens excribere feci, maximè quod apud nos ista tabuerant hactenus, nisi quæ joculatores in suis præferebant cantilenis. Ap. CIAMPI, *Dissertat. on Turpin's Hist.* p. v.

popular in France.[t] The book was undoubtedly written before the year 1122; for, a bull of Pope Calistus II. dated in that year, pronounced it genuine.[u] Notwithstanding this the book was supposed to be a forgery in 1207.[v] An additional proof that it was written not much later than 1100 is, that Montauban or Montalbano, Rinaldo's castle, is never mentioned in it; and, as we shall presently see, that castle was not in existence till 1144. Rinaldo (Renaud) in it is called *de Albospino*; why, it is difficult to decide; except by saying that Turpin gave Rinaldo the surname of another hero. Maugis (Malagigi) was called *d'Aubespine;* and the origin of this surname will be seen in the Romance of *Maugis et Vivien.* Since the name Montauban occurs in the other old romances in prose, we are justified in believing that that of Turpin is the most ancient of all. His book is extremely unconnected, and to give an accurate analysis of it would be too tedious a task. Some account will, however, be occasionally given of the various instances in which the romantic poets of Italy have profited by this work; and here, therefore, it is presumed a slight mention of its contents will

[t] SIGIBERTUS, who wrote about the end of the xith, or beginning of the xiith century, says of Arthur: Cujus mirabiles actus etiam linguæ personant populorum, licet plura esse fabulosa videantur. Ad. Ann. 470. CIAMPI, l. c. p. xxxiv.

[u] VOSSIUS ap. CIAMPI, ibid. p. vi.

[v] *Mem. de l'Academie des Inscrip.et Belles Lett.* vol.xvii. pp. 738-9.

suffice. Mr. Rodd has prefixed a translation of it to the Spanish ballads, and its stories have been made known to the English reader by Mr. Ellis in his *Specimens of metrical Romances*. Several of the principal warriors beside those already mentioned are named by Turpin, as Olivieri, Namo, Uggero, Salomone, Astolfo and the traitor Gano, or Ganelone.

The events recorded by Turpin are the wars of Charlemagne against the Saracens in Spain, more particularly in Gallicia,[w] and the death of the Paladins at Roncesvalles, through the treachery of Gano. There is no lack of duels, giants, or miracles in this book, which moreover contains many strange disputes on matters of religious belief, the object of which is to explain what must ever remain inexplicable to human reason. To give a relish to the whole, the most whimsical moral precepts and allegories are appended to some of the chapters of the work, all tending to impress upon the minds of Christians their indispensable duties of slaughtering Moslems and giving money to the priests. This last admonition may furnish a reason for the great anxiety evinced by Calistus II. that the authenticity of the book should not be questioned.

Of Rinaldo's glorious family nothing is said

[w] Galicia was not conquered by the Saracens even in the time of Sigibertus, according to the assertion of this annalist himself, ad an. 720. See Ciampi, ibid. p. xxxiv. But it does not seem that the annalist means by this that it was never invaded, as Ciampi believes.

by Turpin; information concerning this race of heroes must be sought in other romances which will shortly be mentioned. Some notice of the birth and boyhood of Orlando, taken from the *Reali di Francia* and the poem of DOLCE, entitled *Prime Imprese d'Orlando*, is here given.

Milon or Milone, a knight of a great family, and distantly related to Charlemagne,[x] having secretly married *Berta*, the emperor's sister, was banished from France, and excommunicated by the pope.[y] After a long and miserable wandering on foot as mendicants, Milon and his wife arrived at Sutri, where they took refuge in a cave, and in that cave Orlando was born. He was called *Roland* or *Rotoland* from *rouler* or *rotolare*, because, as soon as born, he *rolled* himself on the ground. When young, his amusement was in beating all the children of the neighbourhood; and amongst others, Olivieri, son of the governor of Sutri, when fifteen years of age, was well trounced by Orlando, then only ten. His father

[x] See the genealogical tree of the heroes of romance at the end of this volume, and the notes. Historically speaking, it is true, that there was a Count MILO, not at the time of *Charlemagne*, but in that of *Charles the Bald*. We do not know any thing of this Lord, but that he existed, finding in the *Capit. ap. Silvanum.* an. 853, in DUCHESNE, *Scrip. Franc.* vol. ii. p. 421, that certain Bishops and Lords were Missi in Comitatibus Milonis. One *Milo de Braio* (Brava?) is repeatedly mentioned by ORDERIC. VITAL. as one of the heroes of the first crusade. He died in Palestine.

[y] It is unnecessary to enter into the particulars of events which preceded this marriage, for sundry reasons, which the discretion of the reader will suggest to him.

had quitted Berta and the boy, and set forth in quest of honour and fortune, fighting under the banners of different kings in the East, where he achieved wonders. During this time Orlando was so poor that he was half naked. Four of his young friends bought some cloth to cover him. Two of them bought white, and two red; and from this circumstance Orlando took his coat of arms *del Quartiere*.[z] ARIOSTO, however, is opposed to the authorities upon this point, and thinks that Orlando wore the shield in question, because he had won it from Almonte, father of Dardinello.[a] When Charlemagne was on his way to Rome, to receive the imperial crown, he dined in public at Sutri; and Orlando, to give a sample of his dexterity, stole from the royal table a plate of meat, which he carried to his mother. Having repeated this act, the Emperor, struck with his

[z] This was in fact the dress of a poor man, and of slaves. The dress of the convicts in our goals at the present day is parti-coloured in the same manner. Hence came our liveries and harlequin's costume; and the name *schiavina* given to a *cento* or quilt made of divers pieces of cloth.

In *Guy of Warwick* we read

He found
A freyre well certayne
One sat thereby in *slavayne*,

which in my opinion, is *schiavina* and not a *pilgrim dress*, as Mr. ELLIS conceived. Probably pilgrims wore such dresses out of humility. The friars imitated in the shaving of their heads, in the form of their hoods, &c. the slaves' dresses for this reason.

[a] *Orl. Fur.* c. xviii. st. 149 DOLCE, *Prim. Imp. d'Or.* xv. 58. and 62.

boldness, and remembering an admonition he had received in a dream, ordered him to be followed. This was accordingly done by three of his knights, whom Orlando would have encountered with a cudgel on their entering the grotto, had not his mother restrained him. When they heard from her who she was, they threw themselves at her feet, and promised to obtain, as they did, her pardon from the emperor. Having gone to Paris with his uncle, who bestowed upon him castles and lands, Orlando so distinguished himself that he became the most powerful support of the throne and of Christianity. Of his exploits the poets themselves must speak.

Whence these stories originated, it is of course impossible to say. *Milon* or *Milun* is a name celebrated in the ancient British lays, and one of those translated by MARIE DE FRANCE is entitled *Lai de Milun*. The adventures therein related resemble, in some parts, those of the father of Orlando. Its contents are briefly of the following tenor: Milon was a gallant knight of South Wales, highly esteemed in Ireland, Norway, Guthlande, Logres and Albany for his valour. A young lady having, on account of this same bravery, fallen in love with him, she very unceremoniously let him know this fact, in order not to lose time by his bashfulness. This declaration highly pleased Milon, who could not be indifferent to her passion. A son, the consequence of this attachment, was sent to Northumberland to a sister of the young lady, who was married in that country, and

who took maternal care of him, and had him educated in the very best manner, so that he became a most accomplished knight. Milon went out of the country into the service of a foreign potentate, and the father of his lady betrothed her to a Welch knight, whom she was obliged to marry, although very loth to do so. On his return, Milon, who was very sorry for this, contrived by means of a swan, who served as letter-carrier, to keep up a correspondence with the lady, whom for the space of twenty years he was unable to see.[b] The young gentleman in the meantime was informed by his aunt of the secret of his birth, and to prove himself worthy of his origin he sets off immediately to seek adventures. He embarks at Southampton, arrives in Brittany, renders himself conspicuous for his feats of valour, and so renowned does this worthy champion become, that Milon himself, jealous of his fame, determines to try to dismount him, after which he thinks of going to enquire about his son, of whom, it seems, he never thought during this long lapse of time. He therefore departs with the consent of the lady, goes to Brittany, is distinguished for his bravery; but on jousting with his son he is dismounted. The helmet having fallen off his head, the young knight regrets having unhorsed

[b] This love continued for such a length of time as is rather incredible; 'I never heard of true love lasting ten years,' is the opinion of a hero in *Peveril of the Peak*. PETRARCA says that he loved Laura twenty-one years.

Tennemi amor anni ventuno ardendo.

an old warrior, and apologizes to him in the handsomest manner. Milon requests as a favor from the young hero, to be informed of his name and condition; the request being granted, Milon recognizes him as his own son, to the great joy of all those who were present. The young warrior, not liking that his father and mother should live any longer separated, determines to unite them, by adopting the method to which Irish candidates have sometimes had recourse, to get rid of an opponent at an election. He sets off with the intention of going to Wales to fight the husband of his mother and kill him, after which she might lawfully be wedded to his father. However, this scheme needs not to be executed, for the husband had just died; and the lady then married Milon.

En grant bien è en grant duçur,
Vesquirent puis è nuit è jur.
De lur amur è de lur bien
Firent un Lai li Auncien;
E jeo qui l'ai mis en escrit
Al recunter mut me délit.[c]

The editor of these lays observes, that an incident something like that of the battle and subsequent recognition between Milon and his son, is to be found in the romance of Hildebrand and Hadubrand his son;[d] and in a more tragical form, it

[c] *Poésies de* MARIE DE FRANCE, publiées par B. DE ROQUEFORT, vol. i. *Lai de Milon.*

[d] *Etat de la Poésie Française dans le xii. & xiii. Siècles*, pp. 52—55.

is also to be met with, in a poem of a much older date, according to the opinion of those who have investigated the subject. I shall leave, therefore, one of these critics to relate his own story. 'In the reign of Conor Mac-Nessa, king of Ulster, (about the year of the world 3950) Ireland abounded in heroes of the most shining intrepidity, insomuch that they were all over Europe, by way of eminence, called the HEROES OF THE WESTERN ISLE. Amongst these were Cuchullin the son of Sualthach; Conal-cearach, and the three sons of Uisneach, Naoise, Ainle, and Ardan, all cousins-german. Cuchullin, in one of his continental expeditions, returning home by way of Albany, or modern Scotland, fell in love at Dun-Sgathach with the beautiful Aife, daughter to Airdgenny. The affairs of his country calling him home, he left the lady pregnant, but, on taking leave, he directed, in case his child should be a son, to have him carefully brought up to arms at the academy of Dun-Sgathach: he gave her a chain of gold to be put round his neck, and desired that he should be sent to Ulster, as soon as his military studies were completed, and that he should there recognize him by means of the golden chain. He also left the following injunctions for his conduct:—that he should never reveal his name to a foe; that he should not give the way to any man who seemed to demand it as a right, and that he should never decline the single combat with any knight under the sun.'

'The youth (his education completed) came to Ireland to seek his father; but it appears he arrived in armour—a manifest proof, according to the etiquette of those days, that he came with an hostile intention, and to look for occasions to signalize his valour. On his approaching Emania, the royal residence of the Ulster kings, and of the Croabh-ruadh, or Ulster knights, Conor sent a herald to know who he was. A direct answer, and he armed, would have been improper; it would have been an acknowledgment of timidity: in short, the question was only a challenge; and his being asked to pay an eric or tribute, implied no more than that he should confess the superiority of the Ulster knights. On his refusal to answer the question, Cuchullin appeared: they engaged, and the latter, hard pressed, threw a spear with such direction at the young hero as to wound him mortally. The dying youth then acknowledged himself his son, and that he fell in obedience to the injunctions of his mother. It appears, however, from the poem,[e] that when Cuchullin left her those injunctions, he was far from expecting that his son should have put them in force upon his arrival in Ireland. On the contrary, it appears the effect of jealousy in the lady, and of revenge, hoping that Cuchullin (now advanced in years) might himself fall in the conflict; for though a gallant and most intrepid knight, yet our history proves that he

[e] The Poem here alluded to is *Conloch*, the first of those published by Miss BROOKE in her *Reliques of Irish Poetry*.

was by no means constant in his attachments to the fair.'[f] We may readily believe that Cuchullin was like a famous French knight 'traitre à merveille,' and more than SORDELLO 'fals vers dopnas,' as the old Provençal biographer tells us. Nor shall we contest his gallantry and intrepidity; but that 'our history about the year of the world 3950,' has any thing to do with this narrative, it is truly hard to admit.

Among the Spanish ballads, the beautiful one of *El Conde Grimaltos* relates to events resembling, in many points, the early history of Orlando. Grimaltos marries, by the emperor's consent, one of his daughters, and is created secretary and councillor to the crown, besides being raised to many other dignities. He then proceeds to Lyons, as governor of that city. *Tomillas*, a kind of *Gano*, having persuaded the emperor that Grimaltos has asserted his independence, the latter is sentenced, rather precipitately, to banishment, and to have his property confiscated. In this exile, deprived of all assistance, in the wildest part of the mountains, the lady of the Conde Grimaltos presents him with a son, who, from the place of his birth, is called *Montesinos*.[g]

[f] O' HALLORAN, *Introduct. Disc. to the Poem of Conloch*, ub. sup.

[g] Pues nacio en asperos montes,
Montesinos le diran !

The reader will here perceive why a gentleman living *en asperos montes*, lately adopted, as his *nom de guerre*, that of MONTESINOS ,in certain conversations with Sir THOMAS MORE, which have been recently published.

Having grown up to man's estate, the Emperor's grandson slew Tomillas;[h] and every thing being satisfactorily explained, Grimaltos, his lady, and Montesinos are recalled to court, and obtain all possible reparation for the injury inflicted upon them. We shall soon see that another tradition, that of Bernardo del Carpio, closely resembles the two just mentioned. It has been asserted that EGINHART, the historian, and imperial secretary, was married to one of the daughters of his royal master, but under circumstances resembling those of Berta and Milon's wedding, rather than

[h] He killed him with a chess-board.

Montesinos con el brazo,
El golpe le fue à tornar,
Y con el otro el tablero
A Don Tomillas fue a dar,
Un tal golpe en la cabeza
Que le huvo de matar.
Murio el perverso dañado
Sin valerle su maldad.

Playing at chess was one of the favourite games of the middle ages, and one of the indispensable knightly accomplishments. In Ireland, it appears, that, instead of 'the knights of the *western island*,' *salmons* and *trouts* played at backgammon.

'The trout and salmon
Play at backgammon,
All to adorn sweet Castle Hyde.'

And well they might, the salmons there being exceedingly clever. One was seen by trusty Larry Hoolahan, the piper, 'with a cravat round its neck, and a pair of new top boots,' dancing away to Larry's music; who, not surprised at the sight, said to the fish, 'Go on, jewel! if you dance I'll pipe. *Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 7.

those of the daughter of the Emperor with Count Grimaltos.[i]

Before proceeding to speak of those Romances in which Montauban is mentioned, it may not, perhaps, be uninteresting to give some historical account of a place so famous both in history and fiction.

Montauban, or, according to the Italian romancers, *Montalbano*, is a city of considerable importance, situate on the banks of the Tarn, near to its junction with the Garonne. It was built, we are told, in 1144, by Alphonse, Count of Toulouse, and his son, Raymond, Count of St. Giles, in the reign of Louis the Young.[k] In

[i] The ballad 'Conde Claros de Montalvan' is founded on an intrigue between Claros the son of Rinaldo, and Clara the emperor's daughter. A hunter (who ought not to have passed by,

Que ne debia pasar,

as the ballad simply says) happened unluckily to pass near a place where Claros and the young lady

Con gran contentamiento
Muy dulces besos se dan,
Con el amor que se tienen
Que era cosa de admirar.

He told what he had seen to Charlemagne, and Claros was condemned to death; but at last was pardoned and married to his beloved Clara. He did not care to die.

Quien no ama à las mugeres
No se puede hombre llamar;
Mas la vida que yo tengo
Por ellas quiero gastar.

[k] *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.* vol. xxi. p. 147. *Histoire particulière des plus memorables choses qui se sont passées au Siège de Montauban, par* H. JOLY. Paris, 1623.

1316, a bishoprick was established there, and in 1577, its bishop, John Desprès, having publicly embraced the reformed religion, the whole city followed his example, and formed one of the strong holds of the Protestant party during the civil wars of France. Its elevated situation, defended by two small rivers, the *Garigne* and *Trescon*, and the pains taken in fortifying it, caused it to be considered impregnable. The Protestants were besieged there in 1622, but the royal army, after spending two months and a half before its walls, and suffering the loss of 16,000 men, was constrained to raise the siege. A Catholic writer of those days tells us, that the city had been always inhabited by warlike citizens ;[1] and would have us believe, that the times of Rinaldo were not the only period when Montauban afforded an asylum for freebooters. He states, that it was formerly attacked by Mont-Luc and the parliament of Toulouse, in order to extirpate some marauders who pillaged the surrounding country, and had retired within its walls ; but that the city being well fortified, and defended by a sturdy band, the besiegers were forced to retire.[m] To confirm the opinion that this city continued to be a receptacle for plun-

[1] *Le puissant et redoubtable Siège de l'Armée Royale de sa Majesté dressé contre la ville de Montauban.* Paris, 1621.

[m] Mais pour l'avoir trouvée bien murée, fossoyée, et defendue par de gens opiniâtres, ils furent contraints de lever le siège et de leur retirer.

derers, the same historian informs us, that the Protestants used to carry into it all the pillage of which they became possessed.[n] Though it was not in existence at the time of Charlemagne, it is remarkable that one of the oldest parts of it, a kind of fortress, has the name of RENAUD'S CASTLE.[o]

This brief topographical and historical notice of Montauban will not be useless to the reader of romance. It was Rinaldo, however,

[n] En icelle estoit leur magazin de tous les pillages qu'ils faisoient.

[o] En un autre quartier de la ville est encore un bâtiment opaque inhabité joint à la muraille de la ville par dehors qu'on appelle *Le chateau de Renaud*, d'une plus grande antiquité, que le reste, sur le bord de la rivière. *Hist. particul. &c.* The famous MERLINUS COCCAJUS has inserted a description of Montauban in his first *Maccaronice*, in which he seems to have formed a pretty correct idea of Rinaldo's real character, and of some of his companions.

Est locus in Franza montagnae ficcus in alto
Culmine, quem capræ celeres a pena salirent;
Hunc Montalbanum Francesa brigata demandat.
Non urbs, nec villa est; verum fortissima rocca,
Quæ saxo vivo tres est obcincta murais,
Non bombardarum stimans batimenta lupinum;
Quam famosus homo quondam, ferus ille Rinaldus
(Si cantant verum Turpini scripta) tenebat;
Et septem centos proprio sub iure ladrones
Banditos habuit.

Castles in the South of France had become such an intolerable nuisance, being no more than dens of robbers, that a Council of Toulouse, in 1229, forbade new castles to be built, or the old ones to be repaired. LE GRAND, *Fabliaux*, &c. vol. i. note to *Le Chevalier à l'Epée*.

who, according to the romancers, built the city: an assertion particularly recorded in the tale *Les Quatre-Filz-Aymon*, of which a short account will be given, after we have briefly considered that of *Maugis et Vivien.*

Maugis (Malagigi) and Vivian were twins and sons of Beuues (Buovo) of Aygremont. They were scarcely born when a female slave carried off Maugis, and one Tapinel, an expert thief, ran away with Vivian. She who stole Maugis was killed by a lion which left the child untouched, and he was found by the fairy Oriande under a hawthorne, and as he lay there in very bad plight, he was named *Maugis d'Aubespine.* [p] Ori-

[p] Par le Dieu où l'on croit cet enfant cy mal gist, et sera son nom; et depuis ce temps là fut toujours nommé MAUGIS. *L'Histoire de Maugis d'Aygremont et de Vivien son frère.* In the *Reali di Francia* there is a story of a thief and a lion carrying away the two sons of Dusolina. The thief was killed, and the child which he had stolen, who was called *Gisberto*, became a famous knight. The lion never did any injury to the child which it had seized, but after having restored it to the mother, became an attendant upon her and her boy. As Dusolina was forlorn, the lion accompanied her for protection. The child was called *Ottaviano del Lione;* as it was thought that the lion was his father. This Ottaviano also became a famous knight. We are then told that the lion was no less a person than St. Mark the Evangelist, who, wishing to assist the child *incognito*, had disguised himself under the appearance of a lion. Ottaviano was brought up at the court of King Balante, and in due time had a duel with his brother Gisberto, without their knowing each other. It is clear that this story and that of *Maugis et Vivien* are from the same source. See *Real. di Fr.* ii. 46. 48. and 53.

ande carried him to her castle of Rosefleur, where she had a brother who was one hundred years old, and deeply versed in necromancy, he having studied that art at Toledo. He very carefully instructed Maugis in this craft, and the latter being a quick and industrious boy, made great progress. One of his first exploits was the conquest of the horse *Bajardo*, which lived in a wood defended by a devil named Rouart, and by a serpent. To deceive the former of these guardians, Maugis took the skin of a bear lately killed, and made a dress of it, to which he attached at least five hundred fox-tails. He moreover put on a leathern vizor with seven horns round it, and when thus attired, he bore, as will be readily believed, a greater resemblance to the devil than to any other kind of being.[r] The disguise was so perfect that Rouart himself was deceived and mistook him for one of his brethren; and on Maugis telling him how well he had succeeded in causing an abbot and abbess to sin, Rouart was amazingly pleased, and said to Maugis that he merited much praise, and that he would be truly welcome on his return to hell.[s] Maugis, of course, secured Bajardo, of which he afterwards made a present to Rinaldo.

After sundry adventures, which are not very

[r] Et quand il fut appareillé il ressembla mieux à un diable d'enfer que à autre beste. Ibid. c. vi.

[s] Si luy dit Rouart qu'il estoit moult à priser, et que quand il sera en enfer il sera le bienvenu. Ibid.

important for the reader to know, Maugis proceeds to Toledo and delivers Marsiglio from a giant. Marsiglio is afterwards raised to the throne of Persia, on which occasion he gives the command of his forces to Maugis, who kills one Aquilante in a duel, that warrior having challenged both Marsiglio and Baligante his brother. Aquilante, being much older than his wife, was, naturally enough, soon forgotten by her;[t] and she would have fallen in love with Maugis, had it not been luckily discovered that she was his aunt. This enchanter had an intrigue with the Queen of Persia, which would have cost him his life, had he not transformed himself into a stag, in order to escape from his enemies. Though his life was thus saved, he continued in great perplexity, being pennyless and without prospect of relief. In this state he complained bitterly to Espiet, a roguish dwarf, deeply skilled in necromancy, and Oriande's nephew, who had hitherto always accompanied Maugis in his journeys. Espiet told Maugis that he was a fool to make himself so uneasy for so trifling a cause. 'We shall have more than we want,' said he, 'for you are the greatest thief on earth; and I too am able to perform my part full well. If we rob the rich and give away largely to the poor, we shall not displease heaven.'[u] The

[t] Or est Acquilant enterré, et le pleure moult forte la royne Ysanne; mais bien avez ouy dire que jeune femme a tost oublié vieil mari. Ibid. c. xiv.

[u] 'Sire' dit Espiet 'vous parlez bien follement; laissons ce pensement, car assez aurons à despendre et fussions nous un

piece of morality here inculcated, was very generally practised by the knights of old; for, marauders and freebooters will squander freely enough what costs them but little trouble to acquire. Hence the contempt for money which was said to be one of the knightly accomplishments. A knight was highly praised for his generosity; and the minstrels and other courtiers on whom the gifts were principally bestowed, extolled their lords in proportion as they were skilled in plundering, and extravagant in giving away to idlers, flatterers, and vagabonds.

Arnaut, Maugis' grandfather, was besieged by Charlemagne, and the enchanter determined on going to his assistance. It being necessary to pass the imperial army, he disguised himself as a cardinal, and pretended that he was a papal legate come to negociate peace between the parties. The emperor believed him, and he was suffered to proceed. On the way, His Eminence, meeting some provisions destined for the army of Charlemagne, and escorted by Namo, Salomon,[v] and Hoel, very deliberately took the escort prisoners and turned the provisions towards the castle. The

cent; car meilleur larron que vous n'a en ce monde; et moy en sçay tout ce qu'il en faut sçavoir. Si emblerons assez aux riches et donnerons largement. Tollons assez aux riches et donnons aux pauvres, et il n'en deplaira point à Dieu.' Ibid. c. xix.

[v] A *Salomon* lorded it over Brittany and refused to pay tribute to *Charles the Bald*, as we learn from a memorandum in DUCHESNE, *capit. Car. Cal.; Script. Fran.* ii. 437. I shall

imperialists thinking their friends had mistaken their way, went after them to apprize them of it; whereupon Maugis began to beat the soldiers most unmercifully with a cudgel. 'This is a terrible cardinal, to be sure,' said they; 'never did a priest deal such blows before; it would not do well to confess to him.'[w] After all, he succeeded in bringing the provisions to the castle, as well as the escort.

It was the fortune of Vivian to be brought up at the court of a Mahometan king, whose armies he at length commanded. On one occasion the brothers fought desperately against each other without knowing their relationship; and in another instance Maugis, Rinaldo and others delivered Vivian from the people of Marsiglio, whose prisoner he then was. Some misunderstanding having arisen between Charlemagne and Buovo, whose two sons had at last gone to live with him, an ambassador was sent by the Emperor to his refractory vassal, in the person of Henry Count of Poitiers, who was most cruelly murdered by Buovo. Lohier, the emperor's son, was afterwards sent upon the same errand, and he having

have occasion to speak of this king Salomon hereafter, as his name often occurs in BOJARDO and ARIOSTO. TURPIN mentions him, but only as *Socius Eistulphi.*

[w] Maugys tint un baston dans sa main et leur en donna de grands coups. Lors dirent l'un à l'autre: voici un terrible cardinal, que de Dieu soit il maudict; oncques ie ne vy à prestre donner tels coups; il ne devroit pas faire bon se confesser à luy. Ibid. chap. xx.

called Buovo a traitor, was likewise put to death. The consequence of these acts of outrage was a war, in which Vivian[x] was killed, and Buovo wounded. Peace was eventually concluded, but Guennes or Gano and his friends, who were related to the Count of Poitiers, lay in ambush for Buovo when going to court, to do homage to the Emperor, and murdered him, not without their sovereign's approbation.[y] Where this romance ends that of the *Quatre-Filz-Aymon* begins.

In the Spanish ballad *El Conde Grimaltos*, a Malgesi is twice mentioned among the Paladins; and in that of *Don Roldan* we are told of an *uncle* and not a *cousin* of Rinaldo, who was skilled in necromancy,[z] but whose name is not mentioned.

[x] Lambertus . . . . Vivianum potentem virum dolo interfecit. *Ann. Meten.* ad an. 860. An attempt will be made hereafter to show that one Lambert was in part the original of the traitor Gano. One Vivian is mentioned as having been killed in battle in 837. NITHARD, *Hist. Car. M.* lib. i. But there was a Count Vivian alive in 849, as he is mentioned in the *Fragmen. Chron. Fontal.* ad an.

[y] *Gano* is called also *Ganelone* by the Italians, and we know that *Gu* or *G* are substituted for *W*. Thus from *Wanto* was formed *Guanto* in Italian, and *Gant* in French. *Guennes*, or *Gano*, or *Ganelone* is therefore *Wennes*, *Wano*, or *Wanelon*. Now one *Wenilo*, an archbishop, was formally accused of treachery by *Charles the Bald* at a council of the bishops. See *Libel. Proclam. D. Car. Reg.* apud DUCHESNE, *Scrip. Franc.* v. ii. p. 436. Is this the *Gano* of the romancers?

[z] Mas tambien sabia Reynaldos,
Bien sabia la verdad;
Que un tio que tenia,
Le dixera la verdad,
Por arte de nigromancia.

In the sixth part of the romance of *Libius Disconius* (viz. *Li beau Disconnus;* or, *the Fair Unknown*), analyzed by PERCY, in his *Essay on Ancient Metrical Romances*, we find that 'Sir Lybius comes to a fair city and castle by a river-side beset round with pavilions or tents; he is informed that in the castle is a beautiful lady besieged by a giant named *Maugys*, who keeps the bridge, and will let none pass without doing him homage. This Lybius refuses to do; a battle ensues: the giant described; the several incidents of the battle which lasts a whole summer's day; the giant is wounded; put to flight; slain.'[a]

The romance of the *Quatre-Filz-Aymon* is as follows. Aymon, Duke of Dordona, had four sons, Rinaldo, Guicciardo, Alardo and Ricciardetto. Malagigi (Maugys), their cousin and friend, yielded to none of them in valour, and was moreover a finished enchanter. Buovo of Agramonte, Malagigi's father, had killed one of the sons of Charlemagne, but had sued for pardon, and made peace with his sovereign. Notwithstanding the favour thus granted, Gano, (Guennes) a relation of Charlemagne, treacherously slew Buovo, if not with the Emperor's consent, still with his connivance. Rinaldo, while playing

[a] The original romance was published by RITSON in his *Ancient Eng. Met. Rom.* vol. ii. See there Maugys, mentioned as being

> 'Blak as ony pych,
> Of dede sterne and stoute.'
> Ver. 1249.

at chess with Berthelot, the Emperor's nephew, was grossly insulted and struck by him. Having never forgotten the murder of his uncle Buovo, he could not restrain himself on receiving this fresh insult, but seizing the chess-board, which was of gold, he struck Berthelot on the head so violently that he clove it even to the teeth, and Berthelot, as might be expected, fell dead on the ground.[b] The consequence of this affair was that the sons of Aymon and Malagigi were banished and persecuted as public enemies by all the barons, at the command of the Emperor, who obliged Aymon himself to forego his paternal affection in order to fulfil his duty as a vassal. The outlawed barons obtained possession of a strong castle called *Montensor*, where they defended themselves during seven years, but were obliged at length to quit it by a treacherous scheme resorted to by the Emperor, and which had well nigh ended in their captivity. On their retreat from the castle they were attacked; and Rinaldo, after having nearly killed the Emperor, actually slew one of his esquires before his face. They then withdrew to a wood where they lived like banditti; and finally proceeding to Gascony, Yon, King of Bordeaux, granted his own sister Clarice to Rinaldo, at the same time giving permission for the building of a very strong castle, which, upon

[b] Adonc Regnault print l'eschequier, qui estoit d'or massif, et en frappa Berthelot sur la teste si durement qu'il le fendist jusques aux dents, et adonc Berthelot tomba mort à terre.

Rinaldo's request, the king, considering that 'the place is very fine, gentle, pleasing and decent, I wish (said he) that, with your leave, it should be called MONTAUBAN;'[c] and so it was named accordingly. Yon, being hard pressed by the Emperor, consented to betray the *Filz-Aymon* into his hands. Ricciardetto was taken, and would have been hanged, had not Rinaldo come to his assistance; and Malagigi owed his escape to the timely aid of some spirits with whom he was on intimate terms.[d] At length Malagigi turns hermit, and Rinaldo goes to the Holy Land, where he performs most wonderful exploits against the Saracens. On his return he makes a lasting peace with the Emperor, and after having beheld his sons Ivonetto and Aimonetto slay in battle the two sons of the Maganzese Foulques of Morillon, who himself had fallen by Rinaldo's hand, the warrior goes to work at the cathedral of Cologne

[c] Le lieu est moute bel, gent, plaisant et honeste; je veuil, s'il vous plaist, qu'on l'appelle MONTAUBAN.

[d] Orlando and Olivieri took Yon, and were about to hang him for his treachery, when the poor Gascon applied to Rinaldo himself for assistance. Quant Regnault, eut entendu, ce que le messagier dit, il baissa la teste vers terre et pensa une grande pièce sans mot sonner. Et quant il eut assez pensé il commenca à pleurer en regardant ses frères; car ung bon cueur ne peult mentir quant il vient au besoing. He therefore determined to go to his assistance, as he was his relative and lord, saying nobly: S'il a mal fait, nous devons bien faire, et ne devons mye oublier toutes les bontés qu'il nous a faict. 'Par ma foy,' dit Alard, 'vous irez donc sans moi, car je n'y mettrai ia les piedz. Jamais traistre ne doit avoir secours.' Ch. xii.

as a common workman, where he is killed by his fellow-labourers. Thus did this great knight close his glorious career, only to commence one still more glorious in Heaven, whither we must needs believe him to have proceeded, since sundry miracles performed by him, and his solemn canonization, leave no doubt upon this important point.[e]

Ogier le Dannoys, or the *Dane*, has also a history to which his own name is given. According to some authorities his surname was bestowed on him because he came from Denmark; others say that he took it after having conquered that country; while others again are of opinion that *Dannois* means *danné* or *damné*. Whichever be the true etymology, it is sufficient to know that the hero was brave. His son Baldouin playing at chess with Charlot, the Emperor's son, a quarrel arose, and Charlot killed Baldouin with the chess-board, which was of gold. Ogier at first threatened to slay both the son and his father Charlemagne; but afterwards withdrew to Lombardy where Desiderio (Didier) king of that country, gave him a castle called *Chasteaufort* or *Beaufort*, and refused to deliver him up to the Emperor, who made war upon the king and Ogier for this reason. Ogier having defended himself for

[e] In the Spanish ballad 'Don Reynaldos,' we see this hero already banished from court, and complaining of the Emperor's injustice. He then resolves on accompanying Orlando against the Moors. They accordingly go forth and display great valour.

seven years in the castle which Desiderio had bestowed upon him, discovered that all his soldiers had conspired to his betrayal. 'Ogier was not sleeping; for, in the morning he hanged all the rogues who had thought of betraying him: there was one of them at each battlement. When Charlemagne was told the issue of the treason, he was much surprised, and said: Why, it must be then that the devil directs the fellow.'[f] Charlemagne hoped that he would soon surrender, imagining from the number of soldiers whom he had hanged, that he had none left for the defence of the castle. 'But Ogier, who was not idle in the castle, cut some wood whereof he had plenty, and dressed each piece like a man-at-arms with hauberk and helm, and succeeded in placing one of them at each battlement. But where the devil does he find so many soldiers? said Charlemagne.'[g] In a sortie which he made he nearly slew the Emperor and Charlot, and having put to death an esquire in their tent, he retired. His provisions were exhausted, but nothing discouraged, he killed a horse, and then 'put his

[f] Ogier ne dormoit pas; car le matin ne faisoit que pendre les traistres qui l'avoit cuidé trahir, et en avoit en chascun crenau ung. Adonc quant ont eu compté à Charlemagne l'entreprinse de cette trahison, se trouva fort esbahy: il faut, se dist il, que le diable le gouverne.

[g] Mais Ogier qui pas n'estoit oysif dedans le chasteau coupa du mesrien, dont il avoit assez, et les habilla en façon de gendarmes, les vestit des haubers et de bons heaulmes, et fist tant qu'il en mist en chacun creneau ung. . . .Mais ou deable, se dist Charlemaigne, peut il trouver tant de soudars?

things in order, cleansed his porringers, set his pot on the fire, and busied himself in moving his wooden-men-at-arms on the battlements.'[h] Charlot at length discovered to what extremities Ogier was reduced, and one night went to speak with him. On this occasion he offered to give him any satisfaction, to accept any conditions however humiliating; to go to the holy sepulchre and to pay him any ransom, provided he would make peace. Ogier, however, would hear nothing of it, but answered that he wanted 'blood for blood, and a child for a child;' and then politely dismissed him, saying, 'Now go: may the devil break thy neck.'[i] After this desperate defence, which Namo called *le non pareil de jamais*, and which lasted seven years, Ogier quietly left his castle at night. He was pursued, yet succeeded in escaping on board a vessel bound for the East. Being overtaken by a storm he landed not far from Rome, and met with sundry adventures. He delivered France from the Saracens, and afterwards came to England, where he married the daughter of Achar, king of the latter country, whom he succeeded on the throne. He then went to Acre, fought against the Saracens, slew Justamone, a Saxon giant, became king of the place, proceeded to Babylon, vanquished and took prisoner *Engoullafre*, an enemy of the Soldan, but was at length treacherously imprisoned together with his bro-

[h] Il ordonna son fait, lava ses escuelles, mist son pot au feu, et se print fort à besogner et à tournoier par les creneaulx pour faire esmouvoir ses gendarmes de boys.

[i] Or va, que le deable te puisse rompre le col.

ther Guion of Denmark, who had gone to his assistance. They both were victims of the treachery of the Templars, who sold them as slaves. Ogier owed his release to the French, who sent an expedition to the East for his liberation.[k]

On eating of a certain fruit Ogier was taken ill, and *Morgue la faie*, who had always loved him, sought him for the purpose of carrying him to a place where he should live happily among the ladies. 'Ah! said Ogier, to entertain ladies is not precisely what an invalid requires; he wants comforts of a different kind. Then Morgain gave to Ogier a ring of such power that Ogier, who was about a hundred years old, became a man of thirty; after which she took him by the hand to the castle of Avallon, where was King Arthur, her brother.'[l]

[k] The English reader may here try to discover whether any circumstances connected with the expedition of Cœur-de-Lion into the East, are likely to be the original of this part of the story. There were ballads, we know, celebrating the feats of Richard, and probably the unconscientious writer of the prose romance of Ogier attributed to his heroes those deeds on which the chivalrous fame of the king of England depended.

[l] Haa, se dist Ogier, ce n'est pas viande qui faile à ung malade qu'entretenir dames; il a bien mestier d'autre reconfort. . . . Lors (Morgue) s'approche de Ogier et lui donna ung anneau, qui pourtoit telle vertu, que Ogier, qui estoit environ de l'age de cent ans, le retourna en l'age de trente ans . . . et si le mena par la main au chasteau d'Avallon, là ou estoit le roy Artus son frère.

These prose romances were avowedly *translated* from rhyme, and taken from different lays referring to different persons, or from some longer poetical effusions founded on short and distinct originals, as we have said before. It is evident that, in either case, the prose writers made as free with their originals, as did the poets. We cannot doubt but that the writers of the *Quatre-Filz-Aymon* and of *Ogier le Dannoys* employed the same materials, each adapting them to his hero. In both, a quarrel arises between a young knight and a relative of the Emperor, during a game at chess; in both, the chess-board, being of gold, is the weapon by which one of the disputants is killed: in both, a baron retires to a castle where he desperately defends himself for seven years against the Emperor, who employs treachery and open violence for his destruction. The only difference is that Ogier is alone, and Rinaldo has his brothers with him. In both, the rebellious knights nearly kill the Emperor and his son, and do actually slay an esquire in the imperial presence: in both, a timely discovery is made by the knights of a plot laid to betray them: in both, they withdraw from the castle where they are besieged, passing across the besieging army; and, finally, in both, they proceed to the East, where they fight victoriously against the Saracens.

It has been observed[m] that owing to the ignorance, caprice, or plagiarism of the several

[m] QUADRIO, *Stor. e Rag. d'ogni Poes.* lib. ii. dis. i. cap. iii.

writers of romances, the number of really original works of this class falls far short of what we might expect from the mere perusal of catalogues. The fact is, that, upon reading some of these productions, one is surprised to find, not exactly a *transcript*, but a copy, with very few alterations and some difference in diction, of an original already known to us under another name. Such, there is reason for believing, is the case with a romance entitled *Regnault de Montauban*, which is often quoted as a distinct work, but which is probably nothing more than the *Quatre-Filz-Aymon* copied with a different title. There is in the British Museum[n] a handsome folio volume, containing several romances, amongst which is one inscribed: *Cy commence le Livre de Regnault de Montauban.* On perusal this will be found to be in substance the *Quatre-Filz-Aymon.* It wants the two first chapters, and the diction is wholly different; so that the writers of the *Quatre-Filz-Aymon*, and of this Life *de Regnault* must have been two distinct persons. The facts are quite the same in both, excepting where the copyist of the MS. has fallen into some glaring error, or taken the liberty of capriciously altering some secondary circumstance, as substituting one name for another, &c. The following lines are quoted to shew the difference between the two books. In chap. iii. of the printed *Quatre-Filz-Aymon*, we read: Et quant

[n] Royal MSS. 15. E. vi.

Charlemaigne entendit parler Ogier, il fut moult courroucé, et à peu qu'il ne perdit le sens, et jura Dieu que jamais ne retournerait en France que Regnault ne fut prins; et, s'il le pouvoit avoir, que pour tout l'or du monde n'éschapperoit, qu'il ne le fist pendre; et son frère Richard trainer à la queue de son cheval. Sire, dit Ogier, bien le devez faire; car souvent vous ont travaillé et donné peine. The MS. says: Quant l' Empereur K. (Charles) entend celle parole, il fut moult yré; tant qu'a perdu (peu?) ne perdy le sens. Et jura Dieu que jamais ne retournera en France devant que Regnault soit prins. Car tout l'or du monde ne le pourroit garantir que ne soit pendu, lui et ses frères. Et Richard sera pendu et trainé à la queue d'un somier pour ce qu'il occist Bertholais d'un eschiquier. Si, dist Ogier, vous devez bien faire, quar (car) ils vous ont souvent travaillé et gené.

The reader will here perceive that the story of a man being killed with a golden chess-board would have related, as having taken place, not between *Renaud* and *Berthelot*, as we are told in the *Quatre-Filz-Aymon*, but between *Richardet* and *Bertholais;* so, that one more narrative of this event should be added to the thousand already existing. In this MS. there are some few other variations from the romance which it so closely resembles. In the *Quatre-Filz-Aymon* we are informed that Renaud went to Cologne, solely to do penance for his sins. In the romance *Regnault of Montauban*, the story

is more poetically told. Renaud on his return from the Holy Land, whither he went according to both versions, found his beloved wife Clarice dead. Inconsolable for her loss, (for he loved her, although romancers do not give him credit for being more faithful to his lady, than he was to his sovereign,) he resolved on going to Cologne to pray and spend the remainder of his days in works of penance; as in fact he did. The MS. in its original and complete state, does not mention the battle between the sons of Rinaldo, and those of Foulques of Mourillon; yet there are now sixteeen columns written by a more modern hand stiched to the volume, and, in these, all the circumstances of the battle are related. This addition, however, has no sensible connection with the rest of the MS., as there is no place where it can be properly introduced. In this manner, were such books generally compiled, the several parts of a work being frequently distinct and independent of each other.

There is another ancient romance belonging to this class, from which some hints have been taken by the Italian Poets. Its title is as follows: *La conqueste du grand Charlemagne Roy de France et d'Espagne, avec les faits et gestes des douzes paires de France et du grand Fierabras.* Although parts of this romance have been used by the Italian poets, still the whole story has not been introduced in their productions. They have only adopted such portions as are to be found in Turpin, with which this romance agrees

in many respects. The English reader, who may wish to know more concerning it, may refer to the extract of *Sir Ferumbras* given by Mr. Ellis:° Sir Ferumbras or Fierabras being the same worthy.

Abandoning the regions of fiction, we will now attempt an excursion into those of history, which will be found neither less wild nor less intricate. The object of these inquiries is to obtain some clue whereby to discover what real foundation in fact the singular tales of the romancers possess. Perhaps nothing very certain on this point can be collected; yet enough may be gathered to prove that these fanciful stories are not entirely destitute of truth. The leading points will be mentioned in the most concise manner, as the reader must not expect here to meet with the history of the western world during the eighth and ninth centuries.

In 647, the Arabs having invaded and speedily conquered Africa, the two nations became blended into one. In 711, Musa, African viceroy to the Caliph Valid, despatched six or seven thousand men, commanded by one Tarik, to Spain, in order to profit by the bad conduct of Wittiza, and by the usurpation of Rodrigo the last of the Visigoth kings. In two years Spain was subjugated, and Musa removed the seat of goverment from Toledo to Cordova. That part of Languedoc, however, appertaining to the Spanish kingdom, was

° *Specimens of Ear. Eng. Met. Roman.* vol. ii. p. 369.

not so easily reduced; and from 715 to 718 the inhabitants, led by lords placed over them by the Visigoths, defended themselves against Alahor a new lieutenant of the Caliph's. In 719, Zama, who succeeded Alahor, crossed the Pyrenees, took Narbonne, put the inhabitants to the sword, founded a Saracen colony, and subdued the remainder of Spanish Languedoc, the ancient Septimania.

Having vainly endeavoured to penetrate into Provence in 720, the Arabians turned their forces against Toulouse, which they besieged in 721; but Zama was killed and his soldiers forced to retreat. A war of devastation was kept up till 725, when Ambigu, Zama's successor, passing the Pyrenees once more, took Nimes and Carcassonne, and advanced unopposed through the then kingdom of Bourgogne as far as Autun, which he took and plundered on the 22nd of August, 725. The Moslems then returned to Spain, and made no further attack on the South of France till 729, when Eudes, Duke of Aquitania, in order to obtain a lasting peace, granted his daughter in marriage to the Moslem general, Mumusa. But this chief being suspected, by Abderame the Caliph's lieutenant at Cordova, of a design to render himself absolute master of Languedoc and Catalonia, was put to death, and the Christian princess, his wife, sent to the Caliph's seraglio at Bagdad. Abderame then entered Gascony, took and pillaged Bordeaux, crossed the Dordogne, and defeated the Duke of Aquitania in a battle which ensued.

According to an old chronicle, Eudes himself called the Saracens to his assistance against Charles.[p] Although the Duke and Charles Martel had for several years waged war against each other, yet the former being hard pressed by the Saracens, was constrained to have recourse to the latter for assistance. Charles, mayor of the palace, was in fact master of France, although the externals of royalty were worn by Thierry IV. The mayor received the Duke of Aquitania in a friendly manner, and determined on joining him in opposing the Moslems, who were about to attempt enslaving France as they had enslaved Spain. They had advanced as far as Poitiers and menaced Tours, when they were stopped by Charles, who gave them battle in October, 732. The Saracens were completely routed; and the hard blows dealt them in this engagement by Charles, are said to have obtained for him the surname *Martel.* Credulous writers, in later days, have gravely asserted that three hundred and sixty-five thousand Moslems (as many thousands as there are days in a year) were slain, while no more than fifteen hundred Franks had the glory of martyrdom on the occasion. However important this victory may have been, still it does not appear that Charles reaped from it all the advantage which was to be hoped for. The Sara-

[p] Eudō namque Dux, cernens se superatum atque derisum (a Carolo), gentem perfidam Sarracenorum ad auxilium, contra Carolum Principem et gentem Francorum, excitavit. FREDEGAR. SCHOL. *Chron. jussu Childeb. conscrip.* chap. 108.

cens retreated, murdering the Christians, pillaging houses, and devastating the country, and were joined by some of the great Christian lords, who were opposed to Charles. The old chronicles speak with terror of these successive invasions; a terror most strikingly depicted in the strange stories of miracles which they mention, as having been necessary to check such enemies. This terror was perhaps the source of those traditions on which the heroic poems are founded. One Duke Mauronte, not only joined the Saracens against Charles, but treacherously delivered Avignon into their hands. This place was, however, retaken and burnt, its inhabitants being put to the sword by their brethren and deliverers. Charles even laid siege to Narbonne, and defeated an army sent to its relief; but was finally compelled to raise the siege in 737.

Liutprand, King of Lombardy, was not without apprehensions lest the Saracens, whose ships covered the Mediterranean, and whose armies had such strong hold in Provence, might pass over to Italy. He therefore entered into an alliance with Charles, and while the Lombards took possession of the passes on the Alps, the French swept all the sea coast as far as Marseilles, expelling the Saracens from their forts, driving Mauronte for shelter to the mountains, and punishing those lords who, faithless to their country and religion, had joined the enemies of both.

Charles died on the 21st of October, 741, leaving Provence tranquil. Internal discords, rather than his victories, had arrested the progress

of the Saracens; and the clergy condemned to everlasting flames a general whom they might have been expected to canonize. Their conduct is, however, easily accounted for. Charles Martel had obliged the clergy to contribute towards the expences of a war in which they were more interested than other people, and also rewarded the valour of his soldiers by conferring on them ecclesiastical benefices. In a national council held at Kiersi in 858, the right reverend fathers proclaimed that as Charles Martel had dared to separate and divide the property of the church, he was damned to all eternity. 'We know, indeed,' added the holy fathers, 'that St. Eucharius, Bishop of Orleans, once being at prayers, had a vision, and amongst other things which he saw, and which the Lord pointed out to him, he recognised Charles tormented in the deepest abyss of hell.' In this manner the council proceeded alleging other matters all equally true with that just related. Granting that a person might be seen in hell, Charles Martel would have had a better chance of beholding the holy Bishop in that place, since His Reverence died three years before him.[q]

Under Pepin, the successor of Charles, the good understanding between the Franks and Lombards was put an end to by the charitable offices of

[q] Charles Martel, we are told, had occasion to send one of his knights to hell, who accordingly went, and returned. See the notes to the genealogy of the heroes of romances, at the end of the volume. Whether he went to look after the bishop we are not informed.

Pope Stephen II., or, according to others, of Stephen III.[r] The Lombards appear to have frequently invaded the Dukedom of Rome, belonging nominally to the Greeks. Pope Stephen proceeded to France to crave assistance from Pepin against the Lombards, and in consequence of this application Lombardy was invaded. King Astolph agreed to indemnify the pontiff for the damage done to the church, and promised to molest him no more, upon which understanding Pepin withdrew his troops into France. Astolph did not keep his engagement, but actually besieged Rome; whereupon the Pope, in order to rouse the Franks to his assistance, sent them an authentic copy of a dispatch, which he had received from St. Peter respecting this business. Pepin again crossed the Alps, and forced Astolph to accept the conditions which he was pleased to impose upon him. The Lombards were obliged to surrender their conquest in the Italian provinces belonging to the Greek empire, restoring them not to that power, but to the Holy See. In 756, Astolph died of a fall from his horse, and Pope Stephen communicated the glad tidings to Pepin in the following terms: 'That tyrant, that partizan of the devil, Astolph, that savage who thirsted for Christian blood, that plunderer of the church of God, struck by a blow of divine vengeance, has been hurled into the lowest abyss of hell.' Such was

[r] He is called Stephen III. by those who reckon another Stephen who, it is said, was pope a very few days only, and of whom nothing more is known.

the diplomatic style of the court of Rome in those days. A few months later His Holiness himself departed this life.

Meanwhile the growing internal discords of the Saracens hastened the decline of their monarchy. Alphonso, the Catholic, drove them from Leon and Galicia, while the inhabitants of the south of France also strove to rid themselves of their conquerors, who, unable to resist in the open country, were forced to retire to Narbonne. Pepin offered his assistance to the Visigoth chiefs, who had taken up arms against the Moslems, and Ausemond, one of those chiefs, declared himself his vassal. In 752 the troops of Pepin attacked Narbonne, but the siege could not be prosecuted with vigour, on account of the wars of Saxony and Lombardy, to which Pepin's attention was drawn. At length the Christians who were in that city, having obtained from him a solemn promise that he would respect their privileges and franchises, fell upon the Moslem garrison and put them all to the sword. In Aquitania, Pepin was far from having a friend in the reigning Prince, Duke Waifre or Guaifer, who had inherited that hatred of the Carlovingians for which his ancestors had been distinguished. Grifo, Pepin's brother, escaping from his rage, took shelter at Toulouse, whence he departed to join Astolph in Lombardy, but was murdered on his way by two vassals of Pepin's. Some years later, when Pepin had conquered all his other enemies, he, remembering the attention paid by

the Duke of Aquitania to Grifo, accused him of having usurped the property of the church, and strengthened by the vindictive spirit of the clergy, waged a war of extermination against him. Guaifer was at length murdered by his own attendants, who had been bribed by Pepin. Thus the latter became master of Aquitania, but very shortly followed his enemy to the grave.

Charles, generally called *the Great* or *Charles Magne*, succeeded Pepin, in conjunction with his brother Carloman, and, on the death of the latter, became sole successor to his father's dominions, without regard to the rights of his nephews. To appease the Gascons, who seem to have valued their independence, he gave them as sovereign, Lupus, son of Hatton, who had been deprived of his sight by order of Hunold, Guaifer's father. This Hunold had retired to a convent, but hearing of the misfortunes of his family, he abandoned the frock and resumed his sword, in order to free Aquitania from the Franks, in which attempt he was followed by all the chieftains of the land. Charles, however, soon reduced him to such extremities, that he was forced to seek refuge with Lupus, who delivered him up to the emperor.[8] Two years after this he effected his escape, going first to Rome, and then to Desiderius (Didier), King of Lombardy, who had

[8] Thus Yon, king of Bordeaux, consented to deliver Rinaldo and his brothers to Charlemagne, according to the romancers.

succeeded Astolph, and whose daughter had been married to Charlemagne, from whom she was divorced in 771, one year after their union. Gilberga, the widow of Carloman, her children, and the grandees who had taken part against Charlemagne's most unjust spoliation of their rights, also sought refuge at the court of King Desiderius in Lombardy. This monarch, who had so many reasons, both as a king and a father, for being dissatisfied with Charlemagne, urged Pope Adrian to consecrate the sons of Carloman as kings; but the Pope, fearing the power of Charlemagne, refused to comply with this request: hereupon Desiderius attacked the Roman states, and Adrian, like his predecessors, had recourse to the Franks for protection.

Charlemagne conquered Italy, made Desiderius prisoner at Pavia, and brought him to France. Adelgise, or Adelchi, son of Desiderius, was besieged in Verona, from which city he contrived to escape. Verona being subsequently taken, Gilberga, her sons by Carloman, and Autcharis, their tutor, were made prisoners. What became of these nephews of the conqueror is unknown. Some years later a son of Charlemagne, whose name was Carloman, had it changed into that of Pepin, when christened at Rome by Pope Adrian in 781. The very name of Carloman seems to have been out of favour at court.

Abderame Ommiade caliph of Cordova, was regarded by the Abasside caliph of Bagdad, as an usurper, and, as early as 759, Zuleiman, Abasside

governor of Barcelona and Girona, had placed himself under the protection of Pepin. Ibn-al-Arabi, Abasside governor of Saragoza, proceeded in 777 to Charlemagne, who was then at Paderborn in Germany, and prayed his protection against Abderame. He was accompanied by Alaroes and his brother, the (former his own son-in-law) the sons of Iusif, Abasside governor of Spain, under the caliph of Egypt,who had been beheaded twenty years before at Toledo, by the Ommiade party. Many of the chiefs of the Abassides in Spain, accompanied Ibn-al-Arabi. Charlemagne gladly seized the opportunity thus afforded him of extending his dominions. Two armies marched into Spain; one by St. Jean-Pied-de-Port, which took Pampeluna, the other by the Rousillon, which joined the former, under Saragoza. This city they besieged and captured. Generally the Saracens submitted, and Charlemagne having razed the walls of Pampeluna to the ground, and received homage, ransom and hostages, from the Infidels, hastened his return to France, taking with him Ibn-al-Arabi and the Moslem chiefs who had intended accompanying him only to the frontier. Nor did he omit to change the governors of the places of which he had possessed himself, and to establish Frank governors in the Spanish cities. In some cases, he left the Saracen lords governors of the provinces which they had betrayed to him.

Inigo Garcias, king of Navarre, and Fruela, king of Asturias, who had been obliged to seek

Abderame's assistance, saw clearly that, should Charlemagne think of protecting them, there would be an end of their independence. They therefore joined more closely with the Ommiade party, and in particular with the Ommiade governor of Saragoza, known in the romances by the name of *Marsilius*, *Marsiglio* or *Marsiglione*,[t] as also with Lupus, Duke of Gascony, above-mentioned. The allies, knowing that Charlemagne was on his return to France across the mountains of Navarre, lay in ambush on the hills overhanging the valley of *Roncesvalles* through which the Franks were to pass. Having attacked their rear, the confederates cut to pieces all the soldiers destined for the protection of the baggage, which they plundered, and then disappeared with such celerity, that, says the old historian EGINHARD, renown herself could not tell whither they had retreated. Eygihard, lord high steward, Anselmus, count of the palace (Paladin), and ROLAND, warden of the border of Brittany, with many other lords were slain on this

[t] It is impossible to account for these strange alterations of names. In the Book of Heroes, (Book ii. Adv. 5.) we read that Marsilius was a heathen king of Messina, and vassal of Otnit. This Otnit, supposed to be Odenathus, a Roman Emperor, who was raised to the throne about the year 265, was, according to this book, king of Lombardy. *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities with notes and dissertations by* WEBER, JAMIESON, and SCOTT. Edinburgh, 1814. Even Saragoza was changed into Sansuena by the Spanish romancers. In RODD'S *Spanish ballads*, vol. ii. p. 214, Marsilius is called 'Almanzor,' but elsewhere he is called 'rey Marfin.'

occasion. Such was the famous battle of RONCESVALLES, and on no other occasion does the name of *Roland* or *Orlando* occur in any ancient chronicle of this period.

These are, in few words, all the historical facts connected with the romantic narrative poems of the Italians, abridged from the *Histoire des Français* by SISMONDI, at the same time keeping in view the old writers quoted by that perspicuous and excellent historian. Only one circumstance remains to be noticed, which is of some importance to the history of this species of poetry. It is that *Oggerus*, one of the chiefs at the court of Charlemagne, having incurred the displeasure of his master, fled to Desiderius, King of Lombardy, with whom he was residing when the Franks attacked that monarch.[u] This is another hero of romance, of whom mention is made in Charlemagne's history; but solely on this occasion, and by this chronicler.

Mr. ELLIS has quoted the following passage from LEYDEN, an author, he says, 'of much research and information,' to prove that the origin of the fictions respecting Charlemagne ought to be sought in Brittany. "The Abbé Velley," says Leyden, "has shewn that the principal events

[u] Contigit autem ante aliquot annos, quemdam de primis Principibus nomine *Oggerum*, offensam terribilissimi Imperatoris incurrere, et ob id ad eiusdem Desiderium confugium facere. MONACH. SANGALLEN. *de Reb. Bell. Carol. M.* lib. ii. cap. xxvi. This monk, however, is not a contemporary historian, and deals somewhat largely in the marvellous.

which figure in the romantic history of Charlemagne, have no relation to him whatever, though they are historically true of the Armorican chieftain, Charles Martel. It was this hero, whose father was named Pepin, and who had four sons, who performed various exploits in the forest of Ardennes against the four sons of Aymon; who warred against the Saxons; who conquered the Saracens at Poictiers: it was he who instituted an order of knighthood, who deposed the Duke of Aquitaine, and who conferred the donation of the sacred territory on the see of Rome. Is it not, therefore, more probable that the history and exploits of this hero should be celebrated by the minstrels of his native country, than that they should be, for the first time, narrated by a dull prosing monk some centuries after his death?"[v] This is all very good, and the conclusion is probably true in part. But the theory depends on the assumed fact that Charles Martel was an 'Armorican chieftain,' in which case he naturally enough 'would be celebrated by the minstrels of his native country;' and consequently it could scarcely admit of a doubt, that from their songs the prose romances were derived. But who says that Charles Martel was an Armorican chieftain? Mr. Leyden and Mons. L'Abbé Velley, and Mr. Ellis are very good authorities; but in the few lines just quoted there are so many incorrect statements, that we cannot implicitly rely

[v] Ellis, *Specim. of Early English Met. Rom.* ii. 287.

on the judgment of those gentlemen. It is not the fact that Charles Martel had four sons (if this circumstance be of any import); he had only three, Carloman, Pepin, and Grifon; and it is a gross error to attribute to him the celebrated donation to the Roman see. So far from being generous to the clergy, he was, as we have seen, famous for plundering them. And although it is true that Charles Martel made war on the Saxons and deposed a duke of Aquitaine, it is equally true that Charlemagne did so; and, as regards the Saxons, with much more effect, he having conquered them after a thirty years' war. As to the exploits against the four sons of Aymon, there does not appear to be any history in which they are mentioned. One *Aimo* is alluded to as Saracen King of Saragoza, by an old chronicler in the times of Charles Martel,[w] and another, as being appointed governor of the territory of Albi, in 778, by Louis le Debonnaire.[x] Yet we may, perhaps, with safety affirm, that the romancers have referred to Charlemagne and his times what properly belonged to his grand-father;

[w] *Ex. Chronic.* ISIDOR. PACEN. *Fragm. de Reb. Eudon. et Carol. Mart.* apud DUCHESNE, *Scrip. Fran.* vol. i.

[x] *Vit. et act. Ludov. Pii Imp.* This name, I think, does not occur on any other occasion, in any historical document of the times of Charles Martel or Charlemagne. One Duke *Haimo* is mentioned as living under Clodoveus II. and as having but one son, who died before him. *Frag. de Reb. quæ ges. Clodov. II. Rex Fr.*, apud DUCHESNE, *Scrip. Fran.* i. 658. *Haymo*, a Count, is likewise mentioned at a much later period, *viz.* ad an. 863. DUCHESNE, *Rer. Norman. Script.* p. 21.

since, in the events which are recorded of the latter, there are circumstances strongly coinciding with those of the romances. The invasion of France by the Saracens, defeated at Poitiers; the treachery of some Christian lord represented in the romances by the famous Gano or Ganelone; and the assistance which the Lombards granted against the Saracens to the Franks, at the time of the Moslem irruption into Provence, are all circumstances perfectly agreeing with the history of Charles Martel.

In the history of Charlemagne there is, however, a remarkable incident which agrees with that of Charles Martel, namely, the treachery of some of the Christian lords. Lupus, created Duke of Gascony by Charlemagne, betrayed him. It would have been a very natural confusion in the romancers to mistake one Charles for the other, they being both sons of a Pepin; and thus to attribute to Charlemagne, whose renown was so great, and whose warriors were treacherously slain at Roncesvalles, after they had conquered the Saracens, the glory which properly belonged to his ancestor. Nor is it unlikely that a wilful perversion of truth facilitated the confusion.

The authority, privileges and immunities of the clergy were far from being protected by Charles Martel; but by his son Pepin were strongly supported and augmented, and still more by his grandson Charlemagne, who has therefore been regarded as a saint by the clergy, whilst Charles Martel has been doomed to endless per-

dition. Owing to the unbounded deference, or rather submission of the Carlovingian race to the popes, nations were soon priest-ridden; and by the meanness of Pepin, in begging the Pontiff to legitimate the crown which he had usurped, the church of Rome claimed the right of dethroning kings, and monarchs were base enough to acknowledge it.[y]

This supposition agrees with the little we know of Roland or Orlando. According to the romancers, he was advanced in years when he was unfortunately slain at Roncesvalles. Supposing him (and here again we follow Mr. SISMONDI,) to have been born about the beginning of the eighth century, he was between seventy and eighty years old when he died. He may, therefore, have fought about the time of Charles

[y] Charles the Bald, in 859, complaining to the bishops of Wenilo's treachery, who had anointed him king at Orleans, says: A qua consecratione vel regni sublimitate supplantari vel proiici a nullo debueram, saltem sine audientia et judicio episcoporum; quorum ministerio in regem sum consecratus, et qui throni Dei sunt dicti; in quibus Deus sedet, et per quos sua decernit judicia; quorum paternis correptionibus et castigatoriis judiciis me subdere fui paratus, et in præsentia sum subditus. *Libel. Pro. Car. Reg. ad Wenil.* apud DUCHESNE, *Script. Fran.* vol. ii. Can any thing exceed the meanness of this? Should not such a king have been instantly tonsured and sent to a convent?

> Ma voi torcete alla religïone
> Tal che fu nato a cingersi la spada,
> E fate re di tal che è da sermone.
>
> DANTE, *Parad.* viii. 143.

Martel, in 725, 729 and 732, when the battle of Poitiers took place. On this last memorable occasion he was old enough to be a hero; and he was in the flower of his age in 741, when the Saracens were worsted in Provence. His name does not, it is true, occur in the chronicles of the time, but this circumstance is sufficiently accounted for by the fact, that they never favour us with any names whatever. We must not suppose that the popular traditions, whereon TURPIN founded his story, are altogether fabulous; they are altered, but it is preposterous to say that they are destitute of all foundation in fact. The stories of Orlando having been killed in 812 by Bernardo del Carpio, eagerly received by some of the old Spanish historians, who, to flatter the national vanity, wished to pass off their own as the greatest hero, were an after-growth. Bernardo del Carpio was, they tell us, son of Dona Ximena, a sister of King Alfonso, secretly married to Don Sancho Saldaña, who, on that account, incurred the sovereign's displeasure. So Orlando was the son of Berta, the Emperor's sister, who espoused Milone of Anglante, Orlando's father. The story of Bernardo del Carpio proves how unscrupulously poets could alter popular traditions, and attribute to their favourite hero, whatever they thought would suit him, in the history of another. It should be added, that whatever we may think of Dona Ximena's modesty, we can place but little reliance on the moral rigidity of Charlemagne's female relatives, who all gave proofs of their

disposition to enjoy this wicked world while youth remained; nor thought of retiring to convents till years had unmercifully accumulated on them.

But who was *Roland*, or *Rotland*, or *Orlando*, of whom so much is said by romancers? *Brittanici liminis* (or *littoris*) *Præfectus*, is the laconic answer of the only historian who mentions him. It is difficult to say what were the precise limits of Brittany in those days. D'ANVILLE tells us *(Etats de l'Europe)* that 'the domain of the British princes was confined, generally speaking, to what is properly called Lower Brittany, and to the territories formerly occupied by the Veneti and by the Osismii. Upper Brittany, comprehending the territories of the ancient Redones and Namnetes, was a frontier country opposed to the lands of the Britons; and the famous Roland, nephew of Charlemagne, and Count of Angers, commanded there.'[z] The Britons paid a kind of tribute to the Franks, but seem to have governed themselves after their own fashion, and obeyed their own chiefs. They also appear to have kept aloof from their neighbours, on whom they made frequent inroads during the reign of Charlemagne. Orlando was Marquess of Brava, a title which, in the olden times, signified warden of a border, or governor of a frontier country; and Angers is situated near the borders of Brittany. In the same territory there is 'Le Lion d'Angers,' a

[z] ELLIS, *Specim. of Met. Rom.* ii. 287.

very chivalrous sound, as well as four or five small places called *Brain* or *Braye*, from which, perhaps, *Brava*. The Britons being tributary to Charlemagne, Roland may possibly have been one of their chieftains, faithfully attached to him, and whom he may have intrusted with the government of that part of the country with which he (Orlando) was best acquainted, and where he had most adherents; a course which was often pursued. *Roland*, or *Rouland*, is proved to be a Welsh name, signifying *rolling or overwhelming flood*,[a] and one *Roouland* was no less a person than the father of Sir Tristram.[b] The Britons, faithful to their country, named some of their new places of abode in France after other places and persons originally British. Hence, there is a *Bangor* in the island of *Belle-Ile*, and one islet in the bay of Douarnenez is called *Ile de Tristan*, both on the coast of Brittany. Nor was *Roouland* forgotten, since on the north-eastern coast of Brittany, between St. Brieuc and

[a] DAVIES' *Mythology, or Rites of the British Druids, page* 447. Sir W. SCOTT's *Introduction to Sir Tristram, by* THOMAS THE RYMER, and note, p. 250. Before the work of Mr. DAVIES was published, the name Roland was said to be German. Rolandus popularis illustris Caroli M. ex sorore nepos ab Anglo-Saxonico *rof*, clarus; quod more Francico ex pigritia pronunciantium transit in *ro*. WACHTER, *Glos. Germ.* v. LAND. But all circumstances connect him with Brittany and Wales, and therefore the opinion of Mr. DAVIES seems to be preferable.

[b] DAVIES, ibid. *Sir Tristram* by THOMAS THE RYMER, in princ.

the mouth of the Trieu, there is a small place called ROHOULAND.[c]

It is now time that we should inquire into the state of Roland's no less illustrious cousin, *Rinaldo*, the Paladin. The name *Rinaldo*, or *Rinaldus*, or *Reginaldus*, is very common in the earlier Carlovingian annals;[d] and although, as we have seen, Montalbano or Montauban was not then existing, there are still many other places of that name, as also of *Montalban*, the origin of which is unknown, but which may be more ancient than that now so celebrated. We may easily conjecture that the romancers invested their hero with the lordship of a larger castle than that which really once belonged to some *Rinaldus*. A count of that name is mentioned in history, but he lived later than Charlemagne, having been killed in 843, under *Charles the Bald*. But for this circumstance his history agrees very well with what we know of the Rinaldo of the romancers. He was a distinguished chieftain under the banner of Charles, was from Aquitania, bore the title of Count of

[c] Near Huelgoat, in Bretagne, we are told that the tradition of the enormous castle of Arthur is preserved. See ELLIS, *Introd. to Specim. of Rom.* §. 4.

[d] '*Regn-ald* from *Regn*, *rekn*, *reke*, strong, mighty; and *alt*, *halt*, *hold*, faithful.' THIERRY, *Hist. of the Conq. of Eng. by the Normans.* book ii. It is singular that fidelity should be an ingredient in *Renauld's* name, who passed his life in making war upon his sovereign, say the romancers. *Mons a movendo*, because it standeth still.

Nantes,[e] and fell in a battle against the Britons, in which the Franks were defeated with great loss. The cause of this disaster was the treachery of *Lambertus*, or *Lantbertus*, who went over to the enemy.[f] The name Lambertus occurs before this, in the annals of *Charles the Bald*, and of his father, under whom he appears to have enjoyed credit and power, nothing inferior to that possessed by Gano, under Charlemagne, according to the romancers. May not this be a trifling anachronism, whereby a Rinaldus who lived under one Charles (the Bald) is supposed to have lived under another Charles (Magne), the ancestor of the former, and of greater renown? From what happened in the Carlovingian race we see that Christian names were often repeated in the same family; is it then improbable that an ancestor of this Rainaldus, called by the same name, may have been a powerful lord under Charlemagne?

Le Grand, in his preface to the *Miracle de Theophile*,[g] a dramatic action of the middle ages, remarks, that among other spectacles given by Philip le Bel in 1313, when his sons were knighted, one was presented under the title of

[e] Close to Ancenis, to the west of Nantes, is *Clairmont*, and on the east, at the mouth of the Villaine, we find, *La roche Bernard*. Rinaldo's family name was *Clairmont*, *(Chiaramonte)* and *Bernard of Clairmont* or *Clermont* was his grandfather.

[f] *De bello Britan. inter Rain. et Lambert.* apud Duchesne, *Scrip. Fr.* vol. ii.

[g] *Contes et Fabliaux du xii. et xiii. Siècles.*

Life of the Fox (Vie du Renard) who started in life as a physician, then turned clerk, became bishop, next archbishop, and at length pope, 'eating, however, hens and chickens all the while.' To explain the origin of the word *Renard*, and at the same time the meaning of this strange representation, Le Grand, in his notes to *la Confession du Renard*, says; 'History speaks of a certain Reginald or Reinard, a very cunning politician who lived in Austrasia in the ninth century, and was a councillor of Zuentibold. Being banished by his sovereign, he, instead of obeying, withdrew to one of his strong castles, whence he gave great trouble to his master, exciting against him sometimes the French, sometimes the king of Germany. This wily conduct rendered his name detestable, and many songs were written on him, in which he was called "Little Fox" *(Vulpecula)*. Several satirical pieces were subsequently written in Romance, and translated into many other languages. In these pieces, he is always represented under the allegory of the animal to which he has given his name in French (*Renard*).' The reader will receive this on the responsibility of Mr. Le Grand. It is sufficient to add, that in withdrawing to a castle, and thence making war on his sovereign, the *Renaud* of the romancers and the *Renard* just mentioned resemble one another.[h]

[h] A *Reginardus* or *Rinaldo* was Lord Chamberlain to Louis the Pious, and in 818 joined in a conspiracy against his master, who *in mercy* caused him *only* to be deprived of sight.

Both history and romance agree with respect to *Ogier* or *Oggerius*, *Oggieri* or *Oggero*, that he was obliged to withdraw to the court of King Desiderius in Lombardy. There he was besieged, according to the romancers, in his castle of Chateaufort or Beaufort. Oggero is called *Ogier le Dannoys*, or the *Dane*, or *Danese*, because he was born in that country. In fact we find him assisted by his brother Guion, from Denmark. The origin of the surname *Dannoys* or *Danese* is, however, as we have had occasion to observe before, a subject of doubt. Some say that Ogier was a Saracen who turned Christian, and, as they wrote to him from home *tu es damné*, for having changed his religion, the French barons called him in jest *Ogier Damné*, and he himself insisted on being so called, when he was christened. This surname agrees with the assertion that he was condemned by Charlemagne. In the ancient Spanish ballad, *El Marques de Mantua*, this Marquess is called *Danes Urgel*, which is seemingly the same as *Danese Uggeri* in Italian, the Ogerius or Ogier of the chronicles and old romancers. He is not father, but uncle to Baldovin, son of the Marquess's brother, the king of Dacia, whom he finds dying in a wood near Mantua, of the wounds treacherously inflicted on him by Carloto, the

EGINHART. *Ann.* ad an. 818. *Vit. et act. Ludov. Pii.* This must have been a powerful lord under Charlemagne, and by a very trifling anachronism (for romancers), the conspiracy of this Reginardus against the son, may be the groundwork for the supposed revolt of Rinaldo against the father.

Emperor's son, who is hanged in consequence. Urgel is a well known strong-hold on the Pyrenees, which may then have belonged to a Saracen lord; and near Mantua there is a village called *Borgoforte*, on the Po, which reminds us of the *Chateaufort* or *Beaufort*, in which Ogier defended himself so long. It is on the banks of the Po also, that the Marquess of Mantua goes to hunt, where he finds his dying nephew, according to the Spanish ballads, which, as we see, agree in many important points with the other traditions, though not copied from them. There are, it is true, Spanish scholars of high acquirements, who do not think these ballads older than the latter end of the fifteenth century, judging from the language; but admitting this, there can be no doubt as to there having existed ballads, now probably lost, much older than the present, and on the same subjects. The gross errors in geography, with which they abound, such as placing Mantua on the sea, and mountains near it;[k] and telling of a

[i] There is a curious story in the *Reali di Francia* about putting one *Oldrigi* to death. 'His head, Charlemagne cut off with his own hand to prevent any one from shedding royal blood.' *Real. di Fr.* lib. vi. c. xlvii. We shall elsewhere have occasion to say a few words on the noble profession of hangman.

[k] Against these mountains stumbled not only the old Spanish ballad-writers, but even the historian DE SADE in his life of PETRARCA, published sixty years ago, who, to give a reason for every thing, tells us in vol. iii. p. 345, that PETRARCA objected to go from Milan to Venice, 'being obliged to cross the mountains in the middle of winter.' These are, I suppose, the *mountains in the neighbourhood of Mantua*, mentioned in the ancient Spanish ballad.

journey performed thence to Paris in fifteen days, are proofs that they were originally written when Spain was far from that advanced state of civilization, to which she had attained about the close of the fifteenth century.[1]

It is remarkable with respect to the two most renowned of all the Paladins, that they were both border-lords; and all who are acquainted with the manner in which this class of persons lived, as admirably pourtrayed by Sir WALTER SCOTT in his *Introduction to the Minstrelsy of the Scottish*

[1] 'Sarmiento, a sagacious and intelligent writer, is of opinion that some few years after the time of the twelve peers, of Bernardo del Carpio, the Cid and others, various romances were composed in their praise, and were those which the Copleros, Trobadores and Juglares, and in short all the lower class of the people, sang at their feasts. The greater part of these, he thinks, not having been committed to writing, were in time lost, and such as were preserved by memory and oral tradition, were afterwards so much altered, when people began to write them in modern Castilian, that they could not possibly resemble the originals in language, though they would undoubtedly continue the same in substance. This, he says, becomes evident when we find that the *Chronica general de España*, written about the middle of the thirteenth century, and other books of the same antiquity, frequently cite the songs and sayings of the Juglares, or vulgar poets of that or of a preceding age. He therefore concludes, that though the romances now extant were not written before the end of the fifteenth century, most of them were then only altered and modernized from those of the twelfth.' In this I cordially agree. The author from whom I quote does not altogether approve of SARMIENTO's opinion, for it seldom happens to him to agree with any one. Yet he does not disagree either. RITSON, *Hist. Essay on Nat. Song.* p. xl.

Border, will have an idea of the compound of courage and rapacity by which they were distinguished.[m] Hence it is that Rinaldo, more particularly is, with truth, represented as a fearless freebooter. 'Satchells, who lived,' says Sir W. Scott, 'when the old border ideas of *meum* and *tuum* were still in some force, endeavours to draw a very nice distinction betwixt a freebooter and a thief; and thus he sings of the Armstrongs:

> "On that border was the Armstrongs, able men,
> Somewhat unruly and very ill to tame,
> I would have none think that I call them thieves,
> For if I did it would be arrant lies.
>
> . . . .
>
> Near a border frontier, in the time of war,
> There's ne'er a man, but he's a freebooter.
>
> . . . .
>
> A freebooter is a cavalier that ventures life for gain."

In fact we find in the *Ordene de chevalerie* that *not to rob* is not mentioned among the

> Quatre coses especiaus
> C'avoir doit chevaliers noviaus,
> Et toute sa vie tenir
> Se il veut à honneur venir.

These are, not to be false; to assist the ladies; to fast; and to go to mass. Rinaldo constantly maintained seven hundred rogues at Montalbano, with whom, according to the *Mambriano*, he robbed 'merchants and travellers,' and whom he him-

[m] 'A saying of a mother to her son is upon record, and is now become proverbial: *Ride Rouly (Rouland); Hough's i' the pot;* that is, the last piece of beef was in the pot, and therefore it was high time for him to go and fetch more.' Sir W. Scott, *Introd. to the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.*

self could with difficulty restrain from following the trade on their own account, as we shall shortly see.[n] The shelter which, in their exile, Rinaldo and his brothers were compelled to take in a forest, will remind the English reader of Robin Hood, who being, as it is said, outlawed for debt, abandoned himself to the honourable profession in which he acquired so great renown.[o]

[n] Di Rinaldo si sa ciascuno eccesso,
E lo rubare, e lo feroce artiglio,
E quanti mercatanti al fondo ha messo.
Trebisonda Istoriata, can t. i.

[o] The conduct of this famous robber is in many respects similar to that of a feudal lord. He robbed the rich only, and gave freely to the poor, protecting the needy, and also the fair sex, whose wrongs he undertook to avenge. Robin Hood was particularly fond of pillaging prelates.

These byshoppes and thyse archebysoppes,
You shall them bete and bynde,

'was an injunction,' says RITSON, 'carefully impressed upon his followers.' Rinaldo did precisely the same; and, like Robin Hood, not only ordered their Reverences to be robbed, but performed the operation himself. He once heard that some Cardinals were sent to excommunicate him. He went forth to meet them, stript them of every thing, and told them:

Il vostro maledir temo nïente,
Ch'io mi son dato a Cristo onnipotente.
S'io voglio andar in paradiso poi,
All' inferno mandar non mi potete.

He even took their horses, and told them to go on foot, in imitation of Christ.

Ei visse al mondo tanto poverello,
E sempre appiè cogli apostoli andava.
Trebis. Istor. c. ii.

We have already observed, when speaking of *Wenilo* and *Rainaldus*, that the most important circumstance in their lives which can be adduced against the hypothesis of their being the *Gano* and *Rinaldo* of romance, is their having lived under *Charles the Bald* instead of *Charlemagne*. But we must bear in mind that these surnames were given to the princes in question after their death, and that, during life, they all were alike known by the common name of *Charles*. Confusion must necessarily have arisen from the repetition of this name. In two or three centuries, the ballads in which the name of Charles was mentioned, must have been considered as all relating to one individual; so that of *Charles* Martel, *Charles* the Great, *Charles* the Bald, *Charles* the Fat, and *Charles* the Simple, one single Charles being made, he was naturally supposed to be the most famous of the name, *i. e.* Charlemagne.[p] The same very probably occurred with respect to *Rinaldo*, the name, as we have remarked, being very common during that period. In this manner one Hercules was formed from three or four, or perhaps a dozen different heroes of the same character.[q] Even without

[p] To fix the epoch at which the heroes recorded in ballads flourished, is a very difficult point, even in our own days, and without the same names occuring to increase the perplexity. Macpherson, we are told, committed 'an error of about two centuries in making Cuchullin and Fingal contemporaries. WALKER, *Hist. Mem. of Irish Bards*, p. 37.

[q] We know, both from history and romance, that more than one *Roland*, and more than one *Renaud* were famous.

this similarity of name, one individual was often compounded of two or more where they happened to resemble each other in any particular circumstance of their lives. The process consisted simply in joining into one, several short ballads, relating to different persons. Thus, in

TURPIN tells us, that, besides Roland, son of Berta and nephew of Charlemagne, alius Rolandus fuit, de quo nobis nunc silendum est. *De Vit. Car. M. et Rol.* ch. xii. In history we find not only that there were other *Rolands* and *Renauds*, celebrated warriors, but that they were contemporaries; that they fought under the same banner; that *Roland* was slain in battle, and *Renaud* in the attempt to avenge him: that they both fought bravely, and died in battle, not against the *Saracens*, but against the *Normans;* not under *Charlemagne*, but under *Charles the Bald.* Nay, the romancers tell us that their Roland was *standard bearer of Christianity;* and one Roland of history was *Francisci agminis signifer.* DUDO DE S. QUINT. ap. DUCHESNE, *Rer. Norm. Scrip.* p. 77. Now it was at this time, namely 876, that *Rainaldus*, (whom DUDO calls *Reginoldus,)* was *totius Franciæ dux.* Hence he is called Prince in the romances. *Il principe Rinaldo.* ORDER. VITAL. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 10. Rotlandus signifer Rainaldi, cum acie qua præibat exercitum, violenter, per aditum miræ prolixitatis amplum, super eos irruit et debellare eos cœpit. Daci vero (i. e. the Normans) exurgentes, Rotlandum in momento interemerunt, et ejus séquaces, Rainaldus cœterique comites . . . terga vertentes, fugam expetiverunt hilares. Ibid. Rainaldus fugæ dedecus non ferens, iterum, congregato exercitu majore, Rollonem aggreditur repente. Cujus conatus ipse prœveniens, quosdam suorum gladiis obtruncat, alios, indecenter fugientes, fugat. Ipsum autem Rainaldum, quidem piscator Sequanæ Rolloni attributus, jaculo transfixum mortuum sternit. Ibid. c. 17. If all these different *Renauds* were insufficient for our confusion, a *Regnalt*, or *Regnald (Rinaldo)* is further mentioned as a Norman chief of that epoch. THIERRY, *Hist. of the Conq. of Eng. by the Norm.* ii.

all probability, of the traitor *Lupus*, the traitor *Lambert*, and the traitor *Wenilo*, was formed one single traitor named *Gano* or *Wenilo*. It may be conjectured that the clergy were not unwilling to give the name of a traitor, belonging to their own body, to one whom they might join the people in execrating, without dishonour to the clerical order. Lambert was a warrior, and warriors were also the lords who, like Lupus, treacherously joined the Saracens against the French sovereigns, and who called the Mahometans into a Christian country. Now these were the persons who must have been loaded with execrations from all sides, and to convert Wenilo into a warrior was the shortest possible way to make posterity forget that he was an archbishop. The people must have easily forgotten *what* he was, and what were his crimes, as they, doubtless, felt more concern in perpetuating the treachery of those who not only attempted to betray their sovereign, as Wenilo had done, but who actually did betray their sovereign, their country, and their religion.

The romancers tell us in their own way, by the patriarchal and fabulous age, which they suppose him to have attained, that their Charlemagne is, as it were, an ideal being, formed by the union of all his namesakes, within a century or more. According to them he is decrepit long before the death of Rinaldo and Gano, and in his younger days he had conquered Spain. Now, if Charlemagne and Charles the Bald are supposed to have been blended into one, the origin of this fiction con-

cerning the decrepit age of Charlemagne becomes clear. Charlemagne was born more than a century before Charles the Bald succeeded to the throne. He died, according to history, in his seventy-second year, on the 28th of January, 814, and so far from sinking under the weight of years, that he spent the autumn of 813 in hunting, according to his custom. He was attacked by an inflammation which carried him off in seven days.[r]

If ever there was a sovereign who to a bold character united a strong and determined will, it was certainly Charlemagne; and these qualities, which are apparent in all his actions, are attributed to him by all historians. In the romances, on the contrary, he appears a foolish, treacherous prince, easily imposed upon, and who, sensible of his own want of energy, suspects every one who dares to act manfully. He submits with the greatest *bonhommie* to Gano, who has repeatedly betrayed him, but who regains his favour by cringing and flattery. He is not a dastard in battle, for the fame of his valour sounded too loudly to be denied, but in his house and among his family he acts like a coward. Now this character is remarkably well suited to every Charles who succeeded him. Distinguished one and all by the weakness and imbecility of their conduct, the praises of the monks were lavished upon them, in proportion to their worthlessness.

By a strange combination of circumstances, the vast empire of Charlemagne was again united

[r] EGINHART, *Vit. Car. M.*

under Charles the Bald, so that the latter was nominally, and, as regards extent of territory, one of the greatest monarchs that ever existed. But his empire was, in fact, a colossus with feet of clay. There must surely have been some refractory vassals under Charlemagne, but he brought them all into subjection, since no revolt or opposition, worth recording, was offered to him. From the moment of his death, on the contrary, and till beyond the end of the ninth century, the authority of the sovereign was set at defiance.[8] The civil wars prevented the execution of the laws, and afforded an opportunity for any powerful chief to act according to his pleasure. In the laws passed under Charles the Bald we find proofs of the fallen power of the sovereign, and the increasing influence of the hierarchy. How different is this picture from that presented by the times of Charlemagne! The repression of every kind of crime and violence was left to the clergy, while the highest punishment threatened was excommunication; so insignificant had the temporal authority and royal power become. In their edicts Charles the Bald and his brothers frequently inculcate the necessity of enforcing the laws enacted by their father and grandfather (Charlemagne), and from these same edicts we learn, that robbery and plunder had extended so far as to be con-

[8] Il n'y avait aucune province où le Roi (Charles the Bald) ne compta quelques rebels, parmi les grands Seigneurs ou les comtes, qu'il avait chargé de leur gouvernement. SISMONDI, *Hist. des Franc.* p. ii. c. viii.

sidered a legitimate means of obtaining what any one had power to seize.[t] In such times a Rinaldo from his castle, might defy the king and plunder the neighbourhood; but it will scarcely be believed that he would have dared to do either in the time of Charlemagne.

Many other circumstances, common to the reigns of Charlemagne, and of several of his successors, more particularly of Charles the Bald, tended to confound the distinction between various epochs. The Gascons defeated the rear of Charlemagne's army at Roncesvalles, as we have seen; but this was not the only occasion on which they succeeded in making the French repent their having crossed the Pyrenees. In 824, ten years after the death of Charlemagne, the Gascons cut a French army to pieces,[u] and in 879 they became entirely independent of France, having a king of their own, as is represented in the romances. If

[t] Ut rapinæ et depredationes, quæ, quasi iure legittimo, hactenus factæ sunt, penitus interdicantur. ——. Ut nullus in omni eorum Regno deinceps raptum facere præsumat. ——. Interdum (irreverens homo quidam regni perturbator) incestam propinquam suam, aut sanctimonialem, vel raptam seu adulteram, fugiens secum ducit. ——. Nostri seniores parabolaverunt simul et ordinaverunt maxime de raptoribus puellarum.—Sed et de istis rapinis et deprædationibus, quas jam quasi pro lege multi per consuetudinem tenent . . . bannimus, ut nemo hoc amplius præsumat. *Capit. Car. Calvi.* ann. 847. 851. 853. et 860.

[u] This is probably the tradition on which the Spanish ballads of Bernardo del Carpio originally rested, and which, at a much later period, has been altered to make a counterpart to Orlando.

Charlemagne received embassies from the Moslems, so also did Charles the Bald, who entertained, in 847, ambassadors from Abderame of Cordova, with whom he signed a treaty of peace.[v] Finally, if under Charles Martel and Charlemagne there were Christian lords who called the Moslems to their assistance, the same was done in the time of Charles the Bald; William Count of Catalogne, and Pepin King of Aquitania, having had recourse to the Saracens, and introduced them into France.

The Charlemagne of romance is surrounded by a host of kings both at court and camp. Indeed so great is the crowd of monarchs around him, that, had we not seen the antichamber of Napoleon filled with sovereigns, each waiting his turn for the honour of the imperial audience, we should rank this royal attendance with the fictions of romancers. Historically, however, it appears that Charlemagne, in order to spare his

[v] The reader must not forget that even the Saracen names tended to mould many different eras into one. The Viceroy of Cordova, defeated and killed by Charles Martel, was another Abderame. And the Ommiade Caliph of Cordova, whom Charlemagne went to attack in Spain, was likewise called Abderame. So that there are at least three several *Charleses* and three several *Abderames*, whose dealings with each other are so embarrassed by objects, places and circumstances, as well as by similarity of names, that unless great attention be paid to chronology and the surnames of the different Charleses, we are frequently perplexed to know which is meant, especially by the old chroniclers. In ballads it must have been utterly impossible to distinguish them.

regal vassals the humiliation of waiting on him or following in his train, dethroned them at once, and joined their dominions to his empire. But in the history of Charles the Bald we find that he collected an army from all the kingdoms subject to him, against the Normans who had taken Angers.[w] In the romances, and in the poems of BOJARDO and ARIOSTO, one *Salomon*, king of Little Brittany, is often mentioned, although in TURPIN he is only a companion of Astolph, count of Langres.[x] Now in the time of Charlemagne there was no king of Brittany, but Charles the Bald recognized, in that character, *Salomon*, whose assistance he commanded against the Normans in 872.[y] Thus it is clear

[w] *Qualit. Norm. Civit. Andeg. ceperunt* apud DUCHESNE, vol. ii. p. 400.

[x] TURPIN, c. xii. and xxx.

[y] Salamoni Britonum regi mandat ut contractis auxiliis citius adventaret. *Qual. Norm.* &c. ibid. This poor king was soon after (in 874) barbarously put to death. His subjects having revolted, he was forced to seek refuge in a small convent at Brest, where he surrendered himself into the hands of Wurfaud and Pascuethan, on their swearing that no Briton should be allowed to do him any injury: they delivered him to one Fulcoald, a Frank, who put out his eyes in so cruel a manner that he expired on the following day. His death was injurious to Brittany: the different parties disagreed in the choice of a successor, and a civil war arose which destroyed the importance of the newly erected little kingdom. SISMONDI, *Hist. des Franc.* part ii. c. x. There is a *Salomon* mentioned by GEOFFRY OF MONMOUTH as king of Little Britain. lib. ix. c. ii. See also ELLIS, *Introd. to Spec.* i. 72 and 73. Now as GEOFFRY compiled his book from Armorican lays, *Salomon* must have been a king concerning whom lays existed.

that events which had not then occurred, and men who were not then in existence, were referred to the period of Charlemagne. The Britons did their duty most gallantly, and the Normans would have been exterminated had not the avarice of Charles the Bald induced him to accept from them a promise of money, and of leaving his kingdom; promises which they readily made to escape from their difficulties, but which they disregarded as soon as they could break them with impunity.[z]

The Normans had already been plundering and ravaging the south of Europe, and France in particular, for many years before. In the years 851-2 a body of these marauders had encamped on the Seine, and Charles the Bald being unable to prevent them, they plundered all the surrounding country, burning the towns and carrying off

[z] The Normans had, as usual, filled the river Mayne with their boats, and having taken possession of Angers, which they found deserted, they fortified it, resolving to settle there. It was difficult to besiege the town, because the Normans, being masters of the river, could suddenly and in great numbers sally out upon the besiegers. The Britons therefore undertook the gigantic task of cutting a new bed for the river above the city, so as to leave the old channel dry, and thus render the enemy's boats useless. This so terrified the Normans that they made proposals, which were accepted by Charles the Bald, as mentioned in the text. But when they had retired with their boats into the Loire, they refused to leave France, and acted with more violence than before. It seems that Alfred had recourse to some such expedient against Hastings. TURNER, *Ang. Sax.* iv. 11.

the inhabitants. They were commanded by *Oger le Danois*, who, in 841, had plundered and burnt Rouen. When they abandoned the banks of the Seine, laid desolate by their ravages, they sought Bordeaux for the purpose of prosecuting their depredations.[a]

Here again we find a hero who both by name and surname, according to romance and to an ancient chronicle, belonged to the time of Charlemagne, and who was a bitter enemy of the Carlovingians, instead of a celebrated follower of the most famous of that race. Combining the different circumstances connected with the person of Ogier, both according to history and to romance, we find that he was a powerful lord under Charlemagne, that he revolted against him and was forced to fly, that he was originally from Denmark, and that he abandoned his own religion to embrace Christianity. The MONK OF ST. GALL, whom we have already noticed as the only chronicler who mentions Ogier as one of Charlemagne's nobles, is far from an unimpeachable authority, and in many cases his history is evidently taken from popular lays. This would seem to have been the case in the very instance of his mentioning Ogier, if we remark the bombastic

[a] SISMONDI, *Hist. des Franc.* part ii. § ix. Ex quo gentes esse cœperunt, numquam tale exterminium in his territoriis auditum est. Tanta enim egerunt, quanta nemo prudentium chronographorum enarrare sufficeret. *Chron. Fontanel.* apud DUCHESNE, *Scrip. Franc.* vol. ii. p. 389.

terms in which he speaks, and the marvellous stories which he relates.[b] He moreover avows that he had never been in France,[c] and what he tells us of the military life of Charlemagne (which he wrote under Charles the Fat, and certainly after 883), he honestly confesses that he heard from one Adalbert, a very aged soldier of Charlemagne, who forced his information upon the worthy monk, then a child.[d] From all this we must conclude, either that there were two Ogiers, or that the name of the Norman Ogier, who filled France with terror, was given to one of those lords who

[b] The monk says that Oger was with Desiderius, King of Lombardy, watching the advance of Charlemagne's army. The king often asked Oger where was Charlemagne. Quando videris, inquit, segetem campis inhorrescere, ferreum Padum & Ticinum marinis fluctibus ferro nigrantibus muros civitatis inundantes, tunc est spes Caroli venientis. His nedum expletis primum ad occasum Circino vel Borea cœpit apparere, quasi nubes tenebrosa, quæ diem clarissimam horrentes convertit in umbras. Sed propiante Imperatore, ex armorum splendore, dies omni nocte tenebrosior oborta est inclusis. Tunc visus est ipse ferreus Carolus ferrea galea cristatus, ferreis manicis armillatus, &c. &c. . . . . His igitur, quæ ego balbus et edentulus, non ut debui circuitu tardiore diutius explicare tentavi, veridicus speculator Oggerus celerrimo visu contuitus dixit ad Desiderium: Ecce, habes quem tantopere perquisisti. Et hæc dicens, pene exanimis cecidit. MONACH. SANGAL. *de Reb. Bel. Caroli Magni.* lib. ii. § xxvi. Is this not evidently taken from poetical effusions?

[c] *De Eccles. Cur. Carol. M.* § xxxvi.

[d] *Prefat.* MON. SAN. GAL. *ad lib. de Reb. bel. Car. Mag.* Cum Adalbertus jam valde senior parvulum me nutriret, renitentem et sæpius effugientem, ut tandem coactum, de his instruere solebat.

retired into Lombardy, and were declared rebels by Charlemagne. His being called *Dannois*, because from Denmark, or because he was *damné* for having apostatized, are points by no means incompatible, especially when we reflect how easily the Danes and Normans gave up their religion to obtain a settlement in a country of which they wished to possess themselves, and which they could not carry off, as they did every thing transportable from place to place.[e]

Idolatry and paganism constituted the religion professed by these *Danes* or *Normans*. Against Christianity they were as inveterate as the Saracens, but treated in a friendly manner those Christians who embraced their worship, as many did.[f] Most of the places which the Saracens had attacked and plundered, or with which the Moslem name was connected, as having been the scenes of their exploits, were visited also by the Normans. Bordeaux and Tours were at one time devastated by them. The latter of these towns had been saved from the fury of the Saracens in 732 by the victory of Charles Martel over them; but under Charles the Bald both places were plundered, and the city afterwards burnt by the Normans in 853.

[e] Religion, for a Norman, was but a means to obtain plunder, to decoy an enemy into a treaty, and to treat with advantage. Hastings sent his sons to be baptized, to deceive Alfred, who sent them back to him Christians, and loaded with presents; but the freebooter would not fulfil his promise of leaving England; on the contrary, he prepared for new aggressions. TURNER, *Ang. Sax.* iv. 11.

[f] SISMONDI, *Hist. des Franc.* part ii. c. viii.

Provence had been infested by Normans in the time of Charles Martel, and was ravaged both by Saracens and Normans during eight years of the reign of another Charles sovereign of that country, nephew of Charles the Bald, who died in 863. Between the end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th centuries, the Saracens, as well as the Normans, together with the Hungarians, attacked the kingdom of Burgundy on different sides.[g] It is not therefore surprising that ancient historians should have asserted Ogier *le Dannoys* to be a Saracen from Africa; for, amongst these plunderers, resembling each other in cruelty, rapacity, and hatred of the Christian religion, it was difficult to distinguish the Mahometan from the Pagan.

This theory, founded on the state of affairs at the period in question, is supported by what has been hitherto supposed the ignorance of the old romancers in continually confounding Mahometans and Pagans together, till at length they made a god of Mahomet, and supposed the Moslems to be idolaters. When in the 12th century paganism had almost wholly disappeared, and the Saracens were the nation against which all Christendom joined in making war, the persons who from the popular lays formed those narratives now called romances, could not possibly have had either the means or inclination for discriminating between Pagans and Mahometans. Not the means, because it required more learning than they possessed; nor the inclination, because the descendants of the

[g] SISMONDI, *Hist. des Franc.* part. ii. c. xii.

Normans were then Christians, and settled in France, England, and Italy; they could have no wish to perpetuate the memory of events so little honourable to their ancestors. Nor would the clergy waste the popular passions by exciting an idle hatred against enemies no longer in existence. But all interests were joined in obliterating all distinction between the old enemies of Christianity, by fixing on the Saracens both their own crimes and those of the Normans. How could the writers of that period suspect that a Charles, who was represented as fighting against the enemies of Christianity in Provence about the same epoch (if an epoch was mentioned at all), which enemies were sometimes designated Pagans and sometimes Moslems; how should such writers doubt that he was combating the same party all the while? In those days it is probable that every enemy of Christianity was fancied to be a Saracen, and therefore the Normans, adoring Apollino and Trivigante,[h] were supposed to be Mahometans, and to worship Mahomet. This will also serve to explain why, according to the old romances, there were Mahometans or Saracens in places where the name of the prophet had perhaps never been heard of; more paticularly in Denmark, whence the Normans originally came. Finally, we here find a plausible reason

[h] Without having recourse to many learned etymologies, I think that *Apollino* is but *Apollo* or *Apolline*, the *Sun*, and *Trivigante* or *Tervagante*, the *Moon*, or *Diana*, or *Ecates*, wandering under three names.

for the strange opinion that Denmark was in Africa[1] or Asia, and that through that country the knights returned to the West, who had been fighting gloriously in the East, against the Soldans of Persia, Babylon, or Egypt.

It was this confusion of Charleses, and incorporation of Normans with Saracens, that produced the most famous of all romantic feats, the siege of Paris by the Saracens; a feat which will live in the remembrance of men as long as the Italian language itself, in which it is celebrated by Bojardo and Ariosto. The Saracens certainly never approached Paris under Charlemagne, but the Normans repeatedly plundered that city under Charles the Bald. The rashness of their courage, and the cowardice of the French, were so notorious in those days, that in September, 865, two hundred only of these freebooters entered Paris without opposition, for the purpose of seizing some wine for the supply of their comrades during the ensuing winter. The excessive daring of their enemies, and the consciousness of their own weak

[1] Geoffry of Monmouth makes Gormund, a Danish king, a monarch of Africa, lib. ii. c. viii. § xi. The Saxons too being recorded as Pagans became Saracens. In the romance of Merlin we are told that Hengist sent

> After many Saracens stout and stark
> Of Saxoyne and Denmark.

Ellis, *Specimens*, i. 196. In 'the forg'd laws of Edward the Confessor, Arthur is say'd to have expeled the Saracens and enemys from his kingdom.' Wilkins, 204. ap. Ritson, *Dissert. on Rom. and Minst.* xcviii. note.

ness, induced the French to fortify some points from which they might withstand attack with some hope of success. Paris, in particular, being thus strengthened, was vainly besieged by the Normans in 886 and 88. This was the first time that the French had made a successful stand against their invaders, and on this account the circumstance was considered highly important, and almost approaching to the miraculous. Accordingly it formed the subject, not only of popular lays, as we may be certain, but of a Latin poem in three parts, the two first relating the events of the siege, and the third the miracles of St. German wrought on the occasion. The author of this poem was a monk named ABBON, who was among the besieged.[k] His composition is one of the most perplexing and enigmatic of the class to which it belongs, partly owing to the bombastic style of the poet, and partly to the frequent abuse of hellenisms of a new description in which he indulges. It is, however, a useful historical document, and one proving the great importance which was attached to this siege and to the defence. Those who are fond of the romantic poems of Italy will feel a still greater interest in this document, because it contains the archetype of Turpin, in the character, not of an historian, but of a gallant

[k] ABBONIS MONACHI *de Bellis Paris. Urbis*, apud DUCHESNE, *Scrip. Fran.* vol. ii. There is also a song in the ancient Teutonic language still extant, written on the defeat of these Normans by the Franks. TURNER, *Ang. Sax.* iv. 11. note.

warrior. The bishop of Paris, who was one of the chiefs of the city, by whose advice it was fortified, and who fought bravely in its defence against the Normans, was called *Gauzlin*, or *Gozolinus*, as the poet has it.[e] He died during the siege, and his loss was severely felt by his flock. The poet deeply regretted him, as will be seen by the following verses, transcribed for the gratification of readers of a chaste taste, accustomed to VIRGIL's simple elegance.

Terra gemat, pontusque, polum, latus quoque mundus;
Gozlinus domini præsul mitissimus heros
Astra petit, domino migrans, rutilans velut ipsa.
Nostra, manens, turris, clypeus, nec non bis acuta
Rumphea, fortis et arcus erat, fortisque sagitta.
Heu ! cunctis oculos fontes tenebrant lachrymarum,
Atque pavore dolor contritis viscera scindit.

The monk who forged TURPIN's history could not conscientiously pass over in silence the valour of a bishop against the infidels, in a work written, perhaps, on purpose to excite all classes of Christians to a crusade against the Saracens. The valour of Gozlin was celebrated in vernacular lays; and he, who had wit enough to convert an archbishop, contemporary with Charlemagne, into an historian, could not fail to perceive that with equal facility he might confer upon him the character of a hero. In Gozlin he had the heroic archetype, and by supposing the warrior to relate the deeds *quorum pars magna fuit*,

[e] Amongst the leaders of the Parisians was also one *Reginarius* or *Reginaldus*; *Renauld* or *Rinaldo*.

he gave to his invention a stronger degree of authority and credibility.

The reader who has attentively perused what has been already said, will probably coincide in the opinion; first, that the romancers have attributed to Charlemagne whatever they chose, belonging to the history of all the Charleses of the race, from Charles Martel; secondly, that the chief heroes of romance are not ideal beings, but *moral* heroes, formed of various *real* persons whose deeds have been combined and attributed to one single individual; and thirdly, that the Danes and Normans have been confounded with the Saracens. Of this latter conclusion a decisive proof will be furnished by the *Morgante* of PULCI.[f]

The poets, from whose verses the prose romances were composed, formed the sole amusement of those days; and the large folio, in which their stories were embodied, was often the only book to be found in a castle. These stories were countenanced by the clergy, who reduced them into prose, in order to give them an air of truth which in poetry they could not possess.[g] In translating, the monks added what-

[f] Of *Ruggero* and his life I purposely refrain from speaking here, he being a hero belonging more particularly to BOJARDO and ARIOSTO. I shall, therefore, notice him in the observations on BOJARDO's poem; and his history, as well as his romantic traditions will then be inquired into.

[g] The story-tellers enjoyed the reputation of being liars.

Quant il ot aucun conteor,
Si dist: oiez, quel menteor!

ever they thought more consonant to their religious maxims, at the same time leaving the scandalous incidents in all their purity. Here we see the knight very devoutly assisting at mass, and fervently praying to some saint, immediately before setting out on a scandalous adventure. Sometimes we are told that the holy church has ordered the translation of the book from one language into another, as in the romance of the *Saint Graal*, where it is moreover asserted that God himself wrote the history.[h] It was also in consequence of the encouragement shewn by the clergy to these compositions, that the more modern among them, even in poetry, begin and end with a kind of prayer, which seems to have been thought necessary in proportion to the scandalous nature of the work, probably by way of atonement for it. It was thought, perhaps,

BARBAZAN, *Fab.* vol. iii. *Le dit du Buffet.* It seems however that it was thought that the falsehood did not consist in the nature of the story but in the manner in which it was told. Nuz contes rimez n'en est vrai . . . tote mensonge ce qu'ils dient; so that, to render true and credible what was otherwise considered as false and incredible, the only expedient was to turn the story into prose. The history of TURPIN was accordingly so rewritten. Et pur ceo que estoire rimée semble mensunge, est ceste mis en prose. MS. quoted by WARTON, *Hist. of Eng. Poet.* vol. i. § 3. These prose histories come remarkably well within the definition of history given by the great rhetor of Rome. Est enim (historia) proxima poetis, et quodam modo carmen solutum. QUINCTILIAN. *Institut. Orat.* x. i. 31. Who would have thought it?

[h] See SOUTHEY, *Preface to MORTE D'ARTHUR*, p. 23.

that this was the manner of writing a history 'both pleasant and good,' which is the end which even HORACE, with whom the romancers met without knowing it, thinks ought to be kept in view in writing any work.

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci;

It is, however, but too true, that the *utile* of the old romancers is of a very questionable nature; and, as for the *dulce*, it is so luscious as to be utterly repugnant to a delicate and refined taste.

Besides the amusement which these romances must have afforded to the baronial parties, the subject was of a nature to interest the proud and lawless noble. Most of the stories tell of rebellious vassals who carried on successful depredation, against their sovereign, whose power they set at defiance. This is the case in *Sir Lancelot* and *Sir Tristram*, and still more in the romances relating to Charlemagne, that of TURPIN excepted. The reason of this has been so well explained by Sir W. SCOTT, that we have great pleasure in transcribing his observations. 'LESLEY notices particularly the taste of the marchmen for music and ballad poetry. *Placent admodum sibi sua musica et rithmicis suis cantionibus, quas de majorum suorum gestis aut de ingeniosis prædandi precandive stratagematis ipsi confingunt.* The more rude and wild the state of society, the more general and violent is the impulse received from poetry and music. The muse, whose effusions are the amusement of a very small part of a

polished nation, records in the lays of inspiration the history, the laws, the very religion of savages. Where the pen and the press are wanting, the flow of numbers impresses upon the memory of posterity the deeds and sentiments of their forefathers. Verse is naturally connected with music, and among a rude people the union is seldom broken. By this natural alliance, the lays "steeped in a stream of harmony," are more easily retained by the reciter, and produce upon his audience a more impressive effect. Hence there has hardly been found to exist a nation so brutishly rude, as not to listen with enthusiasm to the songs of their bards recounting the exploits of their forefathers, recording their laws and moral precepts, and hymning the praises of their deities. But where the feelings are frequently stretched to the highest tone, by the vicissitudes of a life of danger and military adventure, this predisposition of a savage people to admire their own rude poetry and music is heightened, and its tone becomes peculiarly determined. It is not the peaceful Hindú at his loom, it is not the timid Esquimaux in his canoe whom we must expect to glow at the war song of Tyrtæus. The music and the poetry of each country must keep pace with their usual tone of mind, as well as with the state of society.'

'The morality of their compositions is determined by the same circumstances. Those themes are necessarily chosen by the bard, which regard the favourite exploits of the hearers, and he cele-

brates only those virtues, which, from infancy, he has been taught to admire. Hence, as is remarked by LESLEY, the music and song of the borders were of a military nature, and celebrated the valour and success of their predatory expeditions. Razing, like SHAKSPEARE's pirate, the eighth commandment from the decalogue, the minstrels praised their chieftains for the very exploits against which the laws of the country denounced a capital doom. An outlawed freebooter was to them a more interesting person than the King of Scotland, exerting his power to punish his depredations; and when the characters were contrasted, the latter is always represented as a ruthless and sanguinary tyrant. Spenser's description of the bards of Ireland applies in some degree to our ancient border poets. "There is amongst the Irish a certain kinde of people called bardes, which are to them instead of poets; whose profession is to set forth the praises or dispraises of men, in their poems or rithmes; the which are had in such high regard or esteem amongst them, that none dare displease them for fear of running into reproach, through their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouths of all men; for, their verses are taken up with general applause, and usually sung at all feasts and meetings, by certain other persons, whose function that is; who also receive for the same great rewardes and reputation amongst them." SPENSER having bestowed due praise on the poets who sung the praises of the good and

virtuous, informs us that the bards, on the contrary, "seldom use to chuse into themselves the doings of good men for the arguments of their poems; but whomsoever they find to be most licentious in life, most bold and lawless in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience and rebellious disposition, him they set up and glorify in their rithmes; him they praise to the people, and to young men make an example to follow.—*Eudoxus.* I marvaile what kind of speeches they can find, or what faces they can put on to praise such bad persons, who live so lawlessly and licentiously upon stealth and spoyles, as most of them do; or how they can think that any good mind will applaude or approve the same." In answer to this question, *Irenæus,* after remarking the giddy and restless disposition of the ill-educated youth of Ireland, which made them prompt to receive evil counsel, adds, "that such a person, if he shall find any to praise him, and to give him any encouragement, as those bards and rithmers do, for a little reward, or a share of a stolen cow,[i] then walketh he most insolent, and half mad with the love of himself and his own lewd deeds. And as for

[i] 'The reward of the Welsh bards, and perhaps of those upon the border, was very similar. It was enacted by HOWEL DHA, that if the king's bard played before a body of warrior on a predatory excursion, he should receive in recompense the best cow which the party carried off. *Leges Wall.* l. i. c. xix.'

words to let forthe such lewdness, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted show thereunto, borrowed even from the praises which are proper to virtue itself. As of a most notorious thief and wicked outlaw, which had lived all his life-time of spoils and robberies, one of their bardes in his praises will say, that he was none of the idle milk-sops, that was brought up by the fire-side, but that most of his days he spent in wars and valiant enterprizes; but he never did eat his meat before he had won it with his sword; that he lay not all night slugging in his cabin, under his mantle, but used commonly to keep others waking to defend their lives, and did light his candle at the flames of their houses to lead him in the darkness; that the day was his night, and the night his day; that he loved not to be long wooing of wenches to yield to him, but where he came he took by force the spoil of other men's love, and left but lamentation to their lovers; that his music was not the harp nor lays of love, but the cries of people, and clashing of armour; and finally, that he died, not bewailed of many, but made many wail when he died, that dearly bought his death. Do you not think, Eudoxus, that many of these praises might be applied to men of best deserts? Yet are they all yielded to a most notable traitor, and amongst some of the Irish, not smally accounted of." The same concurrence of circumstances, so well pointed out by Spenser, as dictating the topics of

the Irish bards, tuned the border harps to the praise of an outlawed ARMSTRONG,'[k] or, it may be added, a *Rinaldo*, *Oggero*, or *Malagigi*.

Nothing can be more correct than this. The poets were obliged to praise and court the small freebooters, since upon their liberality they depended for subsistence.[l] The more lawless the baron, the stronger was the poet's obligation to purchase his own immunity by adulation. The boldest freebooter was the best customer for poetic praise, because most likely to reward it well. There is a curious fact related in English history, proving that down to a comparatively late period the praises of minstrels were bought and sold. 'In the reign of this King (Henry II.) William, surnamed Longchamps, a Frenchman, Bishop of Ely, his Chancellor, great Justiciary, and, according to the language of modern times, Prime Minister, who did not understand a word of English, and was a monster of vice and ini-

[k] *Introd. to the Minst. of the Scot. Border.*

[l] That the itinerant poets did not sing or tell their stories for nothing, is beyond all doubt; and it would be pedantic to quote instances of it. I shall content myself with mentioning two pieces of this kind which are singular from the way in which the poet's payment is alluded to. In the *Reverie*, published by LE GRAND, the poet interrupts his whimsical effusion at once, and says; 'I shall sing no more without money.' Sir W. SCOTT has quoted the following odd couplet, which concludes the French MS. of the Romance of Hornchild:

Thomas n'en dira plus; *tu autem*, chanterat,
Tu autem, Domine, miserere nostri.

Introd. to SIR TRISTRAM.

quity, "to the augmentation" as we learn from a contemporary epistle of Hugh, Bishop of Coventry, "and fame of his name, purchased lewd songs and adulatory rimes; and had enticed with rewards out of the kingdom of France singers and juglars, that they might sing of him in the streets; and now was it every where said, that there was not such a one in the world."'[m] PERCY quotes the passage here translated by RITSON, from the original of ROGER OF HOVEDEN, and refers it to Richard I.[n]

That originally the epic romances were narrations of real events; that even in those succeeding the earliest, some historical truth existed, cannot be questioned. No other books or narrations than those of the romancers being read or heard of, men began to conceive that whoever had been eminent for valour, piety, or worth, must have resembled those heroes whose lives and exploits were the sole and constant theme of their admiration. In many cases the romancers were not greatly mistaken; for, why should they not have asserted that Hercules and Theseus, Hector and Achilles were knights? Apollo had killed the serpent Python, and a Cyclops; he was a great admirer of the fair; had fallen into

[m] RITSON, *Dissert. on Rom. and Minst.* § 4.

[n] *Essay on the Anc. Eng. Minst.* note *W.* Luckily for PERCY, the splenetic RITSON did not see this error, and *Mister* WARTON, as he quaintly affects to call the historian of English poetry, bore all the blame for having fallen into the same mistake.

disgrace with Jupiter, his sovereign, who exiled him; and why should he not be represented as a knight?[o] And since the church had canonized St. Roland and St. Renaud; since the ancients had deified Hercules, why were not similar honours to be paid to all the heroes of chivalry? Hence we have not only St. Dudon but St. Theseus.[p] As none but a knight could wield a lance, the soldier who pierced our Saviour's side was called 'the knight who jousted with Jesus,' and as none but a knight was, by trade, courteous and kind, Joseph of Arimathea was called 'the gentyl knighte, the whiche tooke downe oure Lord of the hooly crosse.'[q] David having slain a giant in a duel, was clearly entitled to the honours of knighthood.[r] Thus all history, sacred and profane, was thrown into romance, and truth

[o] Apollo, from what we read in the prose-romance of *Sir Tristram*, was grant homme et preux . . . Quant il eut xv. ans si fut si sage et si sutil que chacun s'esmerveilloit de son sens . . il estoit beaux et preux et saige. He most unchivalrously killed a giant, who could not discover the meaning of an enigma, which he proposed to him, whilst he (Apollo) had found the meaning of that proposed by the giant. If in the middle ages an attempt was made to establish a relationship between Hector and Joshua, in later times some learned commentator has asserted, that Apollo killing Python was nothing more than Joshua killing Og.

[p] MONTFAUCON, *Monum. de la Monarch. Franc.* l. iii. c. lxiv.

[q] *Morte d'Arthur*, xiv. 10.

[r] In 'the pageant of the Nine Worthies,' first published by RITSON in his "Remarks on the text and notes of the last

so mixed up with fiction, that when the romances were reduced into prose, purposely to make them pass as history, their contents, thus blended and combined, were received as undoubted vouchers, and historical evidence.

Of all subjects historical or poetical, none was of a more truly chivalrous character than the siege of Troy, both as regards its subjects and its heroes, nor was there any, more widely popular. That war had been the theme, not only of the greatest of all poems, but also of popular poetical effusions, exactly resembling the ballads, or lays of the minstrels, during the middle ages. The same process by which the songs concerning Arthur and Charlemagne were converted into prose by GEOFFRY OF MONMOUTH, and the Pseudo-TURPIN, seems to have been pursued with respect to the Trojan war, from popular ballads now lost, but current, perhaps, at a comparatively late period. GUIDO DALLE COLONNE compiled his history of the Trojan war from the books of DYCTIS and DARES, adding many details of his own. His book, which he completed on the twenty-fifth of December, 1287, was in general esteem among his contemporaries, and even for two centuries afterwards. Still this work was not, probably, the first on the subject; for we find that as far back as 833 a king wore a robe, on which was embroidered

Edition of Shakspeare,"' we see *Hector de Troy, Alisander, Julius Cæsar, Josue, Davit, Judas Macabeus, Arthour, Charles, Godfrey de Bologn,* all put together as knights of equal rank and importance. WALKER, *Mem. of Irish Bards,* p. 153.

the destruction of Troy.[s] The peculiarity of these narrations is their utter disagreement from HOMER, whom they accuse of falsehood, although it is certain that GUIDO, for instance, had never read the great epic. According to them, Hector was the most courteous knight in the world, and Achilles a traitor and a coward: Troy was taken by treachery, but shortly after rebuilt, and it was even affirmed, that so far from Hector having been killed before the destruction of that city, during the siege of which he slew one thousand kings, barons, and knights of consideration, he was present at a meeting held by the sons of Priam, after they had rebuilt Troy; on which occasion he delivered a speech in answer to Paris, being, it seems, the leader of his majesty's opposition.[t]

Before inquiring into the cause of the popularity of the history of Troy, thus modified, we must turn our attention to the antiquity of the claim laid by most nations to a descent from the Trojans. It is well known that in the middle ages, scarcely

[s] WARTON, *Observ. on* SPENSER, i. 241. No doubt lays were current in the times of GUIDO, concerning the Trojan war, which were the source of his *authentic* supplement to DYCTIS and DARES.

[t] *Novel. Antic.* n. 80. This book I believe to be the oldest specimen of good Italian prose, and is, perhaps, of a date anterior to GUIDO's history. Very curious information may be gathered from it; as for instance, that, 'at the time of Socrates, who was a most noble philosopher in Rome, the Greeks sent an embassy to the Romans. The Sultan gave the following instructions to the ambassadors,' &c. Nov. 58. At the

any nation, not excepting even the Welsh,[u] from very ancient times, failed to assert this origin. Many have attributed this to VIRGIL's *Æneid*, but the tradition was older than that poem, and it is more probable that such popular traditions should have been spread by Roman colonies and Roman armies, than by Roman poets. It was, besides, consoling to the variety of the vanquished nations, to discover that the Romans, instead of being rapacious conquerors, were only relations come on a visit. In a fragment *pro Scauro* preserved by LUCAN's scholiasts, CICERO mentions that there were people who asserted this relationship,[v] and he himself specifies the Ædui.[w] It has been observed that the Scots

end of a copy of GUIDO DALLE COLONNE, *de bello Trojano*, which is in the British Museum, and was printed at Strasburgh in 1486, there is the following in M. S.

DEPLORATIO MORTIS HECTORIS.

Quis miseranda queat, memorando funera magni
Hectoris, a lacrymis vix prohibere genas?
Troilus occubuit telo prostratus Achillis,
Hectore qui ceso primus in urbe fuit.
Quos timuit vivos, post funera sevus Achilles
Traxerat: heu! tantos procubuisse duces
Laudibus indignum fulcivit Homerus Achillem!
Heu! vicit verum gratia judicium.

[u] TALIESIN, in his poems, frequently mentions Troy, and seems to allude to the tradition of such a descent. TURNER, *Ang. Sax.* i. 4.

[v] Inventi sunt qui etiam fratres pop. Romani nominarentur.

[w] Ædui fratres nostri. *Ad Fam.* vii. 10.

alleged this relationship, as a strong argument in their favour, on the question concerning their independence; but herein they had been preceded by the Ædui, who, according to TACITUS, adduced the same argument, when they claimed the honor of admission to the senate, as being the only Gauls who had the advantage of a relationship with the Romans.[x] The historian was, however, apparently mistaken in terming them the only Gauls who enjoyed the honor of this relationship; for, the Averni,[y] as also the Batavi,[z] pretended to be as nearly related as the Ædui. Long after the seat of empire had been removed to Constantinople, the heads of it referred to their descent from Æneas, as if giving them a *legitimate* title to the throne.[a] Æneas was, however, at no time a favourite with the romancers, as he was accused of, having betrayed his country, which SERVIUS pretends is hinted at by VIRGIL, and even by HORACE a line of whom he interpretes in a peculiar way to

[x] Primi Ædui senatorum in urbe jus adepti sunt. Datum id fœderi antiquo, et quia, soli Gallorum, fraternitatis nomen cum pop. Rom. usurpant. *Ann.* xi. 29.

[y] Avernique ausi Latio se fingere fratres,
Sanguine ab Iliaco, populi.
Pharsal. i. 427.

[z] CIV. BATAVI
FRATRES ET AMICI P. R.
GRUTER. *Thes. Inscrip.* pag. 72. n. 9.

[a] Si quis enim respexerit ad vetutissima hominum et antiqua Reip., Æneas nobis Trojanus Rex Reip. Princeps, et nos quidem Æneadæ ab illo vocamur. JUSTINIAN. Nov. 47. in pr.

serve his purpose, to the great disparagement not only of Æneas', but of Anchises' reputation.[b]

The western nations, generally, during the middle ages, were prone to believe that the Greeks were, as they are represented in all the most popular traditions of the siege of Troy, far inferior to the Trojans. The Greeks of the lower empire were proud of calling themselves Romans, and to this day their language is termed *Romaic*. Accordingly, they received and diffused such versions of the war as were favourable to the Trojans, whom they, as Romans, pretended to represent. The Latins always called these eastern Romans *Greeks*, and in their eyes their actual conduct fully justified the opinion that their forefathers were traitors and cowards. The ill-will between the Greeks and Latins was increased by the uncharitable and unchristian disputes between the church of Rome and that of Constantinople. The wily conduct of the Emperor Alexis during the first crusade, rendered the very name of Greek execrable among the Latins. Thus it happened that the national vanity, prejudices, and passions of both the eastern and western nations, were flattered by the notion of the superiority of the Trojans over their famous heroic enemies.

This tradition respecting a Trojan descent, claimed by so many nations, is particularly connected with the history of the romantic narrative

[b] In *Æneid.* i. 246. See HORAT. *Carm. Sæcul.* 41.

poetry of Italy, in as far as it relates to the genealogy of its most conspicuous heroes. In all times heroes have sprung either from an unknown father, who was of course supposed to be a God,[c] as in the case of Romulus, or from a father whose divinity was a well known fact, as was the case with Hercules. The romancers of the middle ages who, like those of old, made so many demi-gods of their heroes, claimed also a very high origin for the knights. One of them gives it as his opinion that many of the heroes mentioned in history, sacred and profane, are related to each other. A Tuscan knight, called Priamus, once told Sir Gawain, after having 'made hym a large wounde,

[c] Merlin's father was, as is well known, a fiend, and it seems that some mighty mystery was hanging about the paternity of St. Kentigern and St. David. ELLIS, *Specim.* vol. i. p. 222. The pedigree of Alexander the Great is clouded with uncertainty, even in the eastern records, according to Sir W. OUSELEY; 'and on the subject of his birth we perceive, as in Greek records, much mystery, not without suspicions highly injurious to the character of his mother. It will be recollected, on classical authority, that but few of Alexander's countrymen allowed his claim to a divine father; and many presumed to doubt whether he was the son of Philip. Thus some Musulman historians flatter him by a descent from the patriarch Isaac, whilst an honest *Parsi of Surat*, a zealous fireworshipper, indignant at the evils inflicted on his Persian ancestors by Alexander, relates a tradition respecting the diabolical origin of that conqueror, whom he affirms, in language by no means figurative or equivocal, to have absolutely been a child of Satan.' *Transact. of the R. Soc. of Liter.* vol. i. part ii. p. 6.

that men myght see bothe lyver and long,' that he was descended from Alexander (whose heir he was) and Hector; and that Joshua and Macabeus were his collateral relations.[d] This Priamus was, however, a Paynim, and consequently, though afterwards christened, he could not be accounted of the true gentle blood. The origin of great Christian heroes is at once from heaven; and we read in the same book that 'Sir Launcelot is come but of viii degre from oure Lord Jhesu Cryst, and Sir Galahalt is of the nynthe degree from oure Lord Jhesu Cryst; therfor I dar saye they be the grettest gentilmen of the world.'[e]

The heroes celebrated by the Italian poets do not boast of so venerable a descent. Charlemagne was anointed Emperor of the Romans, and, if his sword was not a sufficient title to the throne, his legitimate descent from the Trojan family could serve him as well as it did Justinian. And it is ac-

[d] 'My fader is lyneally descended of Alysaunder and of Hector by ryght lygne; and Duke Josue and Machabeus were of oure lygnage. I am ryght enherytour of Alysaunder.' *Morte d'Arthur*, v. 10.

[e] *Morte d'Arthur*, xiii. 7. We must not be surprised at these strange notions, since 'that part of the Old Testament which records the Jewish wars was (in the middle ages) almost regarded as a book of chivalry. In France, the battles of the Kings of Israel, with the Philistians and the Assyrians, were wrought into a grand volume under the title of *Plusieurs Batailles des Roys d'Israel encontre les Philistins et Assyriens*.' WARTON, quoted in WAY's *Fabliaux*, vol. ii. p. 245. There is also a romance in prose of the *Gestes de Judas Machabeus*.

cordingly said that he was descended from Hector.[f] There is an old Italian prose romance entitled *I Reali di Francia*, in which the genealogy of Charlemagne is set forth at length, beginning from the Emperor Constantine.[g] ALTISSIMO, an improvvisatore, of whom very little is known, but that he was still living in 1514, versified in the minstrel fashion the first book of this romance, which was published in 1534.[h] He pretended that the author of this romance was ALCUINUS, Charlemagne's master and friend, as we find in QUADRIO; but this opinion of ALTISSIMO was combated by GINGUENÉ.[i]

[f] BOJARDO, *Orl. Innam.* iii. v.

[g] In the *Reali di Francia*, lib. i. c. xviii. it is said that the Trojan race ended with Fiorenzo, and that Constantine was from another stock. See the genealogical tree, and notes. *I Reali di Francia* is one of the oldest works written in Italian prose, and one of the most popular romances, particularly in some parts of Lombardy, even to this day. The author of it often appeals to an older history from which his is taken. Whether this be an original Italian work, or a translation from the French, (as the Gallicisms which are to be met with in it give reason to suspect) its unconnectedness, as well as many other circumstances, are unquestionable proofs that it was formed, like all other works of this kind, by an indiscriminate reunion of lays belonging to various heroes, epochs and countries.

[h] TIRABOSCHI, *Stor. della Let. Ital.* vol. vi. part iii. cap. iii. § 13.

[i] *Hist. de la Lit. d'Italie*, part ii. cap. iv. Whether this be or not ALCUIN'S work, it is impossible to say. The fact observed by GINGUENÉ of the *Oriflamme* being mentioned in the *Reali* is not conclusive against ALTISSIMO'S assertion, as that may be an addition to the original work. Never was book more evidently altered and filled with glossemas than

This romance *I Reali di Francia*, has supplied some of the stories of the Italian romancers, especially the genealogical accounts of the most famous knights, as *Orlando*, *Rinaldo*, *Olivieri*, &c. In the proper place occasion will be taken to point out such portions of the *Reali di Francia*, as have suggested any particular passage to the Italian poets. As to the genealogy of all these worthies, it will perhaps be agreeable to the reader, and at the same time serve to render these poems more intelligible, to give a genealogical tree of the whole tribe. Many of the intermediate personages in some of the branches are unknown, and therefore there are lines consisting of very few names. But as those whose names are unknown are of no interest, and as the object was to trace the pedigree as far back as possible, the chasm will be of no consequence. Names totally unknown or unconnected with the poems in question are omitted altogether. Whenever the poets and old

this romance. It is at all events proper to observe, that even PULCI, *Morg. Mag.* xxvii. 2. speaks of ALCUIN'S history of Charlemagne, and this tradition is very old. At the end of EGINHARD. *Vit. Car. Mag.* DUCHESNE has added what follows. In uno Bibliothecæ Thuanæ codice, adduntur sequentia, quæ tamen Eginhardi non sunt. Sed ex iis liquet Alchuinum etiam Caroli M. vitam, seu soluta, seu stricta oratione composuisse, quæ tamen adhuc incognita latet, vel seculorum iniuria deperiit. 'Reliqua actuum eius (Caroli M.) gesta, seu et quæ in carminibus vulgo canuntur de eo, non hic pleniter descripta. Sed require in vita quam ALCHUINUS de eo scribit.' Here we have a proof not only that lays concerning Charlemagne existed, but that they were relied on as true history.

romancers, or historians disagree, the former have been preferred to the latter. The notes will explain the matter still more clearly. To this genealogical tree, therefore, the reader is referred, it being here necessary only to state that Ruggero's line has been added to the others, since this hero's race is of the greatest interest in the poems of Bojardo and Ariosto, who fancied that from him sprung the house of Este. It is to be regretted that such great men should have been guilty of so impudent a piece of flattery. Yet, as some hero was to be traced to Hector, and some Italian family was to descend from Ruggero, what family could have a better title than the house of Este? This illustrious house can trace its pedigree for a thousand years, and, though now extinguished in Italy, its genuine representative sways the sceptre of a powerful and free nation. Even ten centuries back this noble name filled no humble place in history. Its origin and infancy are lost in the meridian of its glory. It suddenly emerges from the gloom of time, great, powerful and formidable, like Minerva, from the front of Jove.

Bradamante, as also Marfisa, Antea, and other heroines, seem to be formed on classical models; and no lady could be deemed incapable of taking the field after Panthesilea and Camilla. Women fought in the first crusade, and the old romancers duly praised the Christian damsels who occasionally distinguished themselves in fighting against the Saracens.[k] It has been seriously

[k] Les François furieux comme lions vinrent aux portes de

asserted that the Amazons were not altogether imaginary beings;[1] but at all events if they ever had an existence, it must have been derived, as Bojardo probably argued, from a race of heroes of Rinaldo's lineage; since

> Fortes creantur fortibus . . .
> . . . nec imbellem feroces
> Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

But of Marfisa and Brandamante something more will be said when their names first occur in the poems in which they are celebrated.

The stories commonly repeated during the middle ages, respecting the Trojan war, had in-

la tour et aussi les pucelles toutes armées, les quelles, avec les François, firent leur devoir. *Conqueste de Charlemagne*, p. 140. In the *Reali di Francia* there is a heroine whose name was Brandoria as brave as Brandamante. Brandoria s'armò dell' arme del Padre e montò a cavallo . . . . . ed assalì una gran frotta de' Cavalieri. Lib. i. cap. xviii. Berta, the mother of Charlemagne, was likewise very brave. She fought against the Maganzese once, and pierced Tolomeo with her spear. The author cannot, however, take upon himself to say that she killed him. L'imperatice era armata di tutte l'arme, e con una lancia in mano ella passò Tolomeo . . . ; ma se ella l'uccise nol so; ma lui fu morto d'una lancia. *Reali di Fran.* vi. 15.

[1] *Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins.* vol. xxi. part ii. p. 112. In a note to the poem of Conloch we read that 'Dun-Sgathach (i. e. the fortress of Sgathach) in the Isle of Sky, took its name from a celebrated Albanian heroine, who established an academy there, and taught the use of arms.' Miss Brooke, *Reliq. of Irish Poetry*, p. 18, notes. The truth of this assertion I leave the learned annotator to prove, if proofs should be required by any inquisitive reader.

sensibly increased the popularity of the subject.[m] Accordingly in DANTE we find that about the year 1150 the ladies of Florence conversed about 'the Trojans, and Fiesole, and Rome;'[n] that is, concerning the foundation of Rome and Fiesole by the Trojans, who escaped from the ruin of their country, and went to Italy in the same manner as Brutus came to England. The romances of the Round Table were also celebrated in Italy, but of those in poetry mentioned by SACHETTI[o] no copy is to be met with. As for those in prose, it appears that the old Italian translations, extant in MS. in the libraries of Florence, are quite different from the printed translations of a later period.[p] It is, therefore, impossible to say how far they may have had any influence on the oldest romantic poets. Greatly is it to be wished that the countrymen of MURATORI, ZENO, MAFFEI, LAMI, &c. would cease from dragging out of well-deserved obscurity books which are a disgrace to Italy, and employ themselves, instead, in the publication of the valuable documents which exist unedited in their libraries;

[m] Turpin et Ogier le Dannoys faisoit compter à ung vieil chevalier comment Troye la grande avait estée prinse et destruite. *Quatre-Fils-Aymon*, c. viii. The same circumstance is mentioned in the romance of *Maugys et Vivien.*

[n] *Parad.* xv. 125.

[o] *Nov.* i. 114.

[p] ZENO, *Not. al* FONTANINI, *Bibl. dell' Eloq. Ital.* Clas. 6. c. vii. § ult.

documents which would serve to illustrate the literary and political history of the nation.

The traditions concerning the Trojan war and the narratives founded on them, were more credible than many of the epic stories of the classical writers, and were therefore more readily received by the people. It is, however, doubtful whether the poems of HOMER were at all known in Italy even in the time of DANTE. The fact has been peremptorily denied by WARTON.[q] That the Greek language was never wholly neglected in Italy, particularly in the kingdom of Naples, is certain. GINGUENÉ has observed, that in the ancient poem *La Spagna* there is an imitation of the *Odyssey;*[r] but that poem is unquestionably posterior to DANTE, and even to VILLANI, as we shall presently see. Moreover, the *Odyssey* was seemingly imitated by the old French writer of the romance of *Sir Tristan.* This worthy knight, when brought to court miserably dressed, having lost his reason, and being found wandering in the woods, was not known by *Iseutte*, but was recognized by a little dog which had been a favourite of his; and the story is most feelingly told.[s]

[q] *Obs. on* SPENSER, vol. i. p. 240.

[r] *Hist. de la Lit. d'Ital.* part ii. c. iv.

[s] Such is also the case in the poem *La Spagna* in the imitation of the Odyssey alluded to by GINGUENÉ. Every one knows the story of Ulysses' dog. In the *Spagna* a favourite dog recognises Charlemagne, who was not recognised by his wife. In the *Reali di Francia,* Buovo is recognised by his war-horse Rondello, although he had not been recognised

The question as to DANTE's knowledge of Greek has been much agitated. PELLI, and some minor writers, have eagerly contended that DANTE was well acquainted with Greek, and DIONISI has gone so far as to assert that he taught it. MAFFEI, TIRABOSCHI, and last, not least, FOSCOLO, have denied this. To quote, as has been done, a pretended sonnet from DANTE to BOSONE RAFFAELLI[t] in support of the affirmative, implies such a poor opinion of the reader's taste as to be unworthy of notice. It is true that DANTE pronounced the words *Letè*, *tragedìa*, &c. very properly; it is true that he praises HOMER; it is true that he knew the derivation of the word *Flegetonte;* yet his knowledge of the pronunciation and meaning of a few Greek words does not imply that he knew Greek thoroughly. He may even have been acquainted with a translation of HOMER; for, a version of the *Odyssey*, at least, was executed before that of LEONZIO, procured by BOCCACCIO and PETRARCA. In his poem he does not admit that any one went to hell or paradise, and returned, but Æneas, St. Paul, and himself (the knight who performed the journey by order of Charles Martel is out of the question), and consequently he excludes Ulysses. In the 28th canto of the *In-*

by his wife, and he is made to say exactly what Charlemagne says in the poem *La Spagna*. Forte mi maraviglio! una bestia che mi ha conosciuto ha più senno che la moglie. lib. iv. c. xiv.

[t] It begins thus:

Tu che stanzi lo colle ombroso e fresco.

ferno he relates the travels of this gentleman, not according to the *Odyssey*, but according to the account of PLINY and SOLINUS. There is however an argument drawn from HOMER's *Iliad* on the one hand, and from DANTE's *Purgatory* on the other, which has never been taken into consideration, and which yet almost induces a belief that on one occasion at least DANTE knew the *Iliad* and imitated it. Still the question will be whether the *Iliad* was translated before DANTE's time or not.

Any one conversant with HOMER will remember that fanciful and highly poetical passage of the *Iliad*, where the Scamander addresses itself to the Simois threatening to drown Achilles with its waters, and bury him beneath its sands. According to DANTE, *Buonconte da Montefeltro*, who was killed at the battle of Campaldino,[u] but whose body was never found, was treated by the Archiano and Arno exactly in the way that the Scamander and Simois would have treated Achilles. The rivers Archiano and Arno were moved, not by themselves, but by a devil who was incensed by an angel's carrying away Buonconte's soul, on the possession of which he had relied. As he could not get the soul, he was resolved to do his best with the body.[v] How far this may tend to elucidate the question as to DANTE's knowledge of Greek, it is not here the place to determine. Certain it is, that the coincidence

[u] June 11th, 1289.

[v] See *Iliad*. xx. 308. et seq. *Purgat*. v. 109. et seq.

has not the air of being fortuitous, especially if we consider the admirable art with which DANTE always imitates, but seldom or never copies; whence arises the difficulty of discovering the similarity between a passage in his poem and any of the writers with whom he vies.

In mentioning the poem *La Spagna*, an opinion was advanced that it was of a later date even than VILLANI. The reasons for this opinion, which is opposed to that generally received, will now be given, the question being strictly connected with the present subject.

As from various small pieces, joined together, the prose romances were formed, so the poets, troubadours, and minstrels, from short romances, proceeded to versify long romances. The poets of Italy were in this undertaking favoured by several circumstances: 1st. by the existence of the long prose romances, which in many cases they merely turned from prose into metrical language; 2d. by the national power of the Italians in uttering verses impromptu, generally with the accompaniment of music; and, 3dly, by the concurrence of events which caused Italy to take the lead in civilization. Whilst other nations contented themselves with old ballads, the Italians of the fifteenth century, taking advantage of the language which had been brought almost to a degree of perfection by DANTE, BOCCACCIO, and PETRARCA, and of the classical information with which Italy then began to abound, composed ro-

mantic poems on a grand scale and of considerable length. The style, however, of these old poems, the commencement and construction of their cantos, and the very name given to the several parts into which they were divided, clearly prove that they were sung for money to an audience who went to hear them, either in the hall of a nobleman, before whom the poet appeared like Demodocus of old before Antinous, or at some public place where the poet presented himself not unlike an *improvvisatore* before a modern assembly. The poems of this class still extant, and in which attempts were made on a large scale, are *Buovo d'Antona; La Regina Ancroja; La Spagna; Trebisonda con la Vita e Morte di Rinaldo*, and several others even inferior to these in point of merit, and very seldom to be met with. These poems are all of about the same date, as is admitted by Ginguené, who, however, makes no mention of the last of them. The assertion that the first, namely *Buovo d'Antona*, is anterior to Villani, would lead us to believe that they are all as old. But the passage from Villani, quoted in support of this opinion, fails to prove it. Villani says that *Buovo d'Antona* was from Volterra, *as we read in romances.*[w] Now, since in the poem of *Buovo d'Antona* no such thing is

[w] La città di Volterra fu chiamata Antonia, e fu molto antica, fatta per li discendenti d'Italo; e però, secondo che si legge in romanzi, quindi fu il buono Buovo d'Antona. G. Villani, *Ist. Fioren.* l. i. c. lv.

said, and Buovo is stated to be from Hampton in England,[x] we must conclude, not that VILLANI is mistaken, nor that this poem is of a date anterior to him (who died in 1348),[y] but that in VILLANI's time there existed romances in which the country of Buovo d'Antona was supposed to be Italy instead of England. Without affirming that the stories of the above-mentioned poems were invented after the middle of the fourteenth century, it may be contended that the poems, as they now stand, are of a later date. It is impossible to assign a precise reason for this opinion; but the arguments which appear to support it may be briefly brought forward.

Any one who *feels* the Italian language must be struck by the vulgarity and inelegance of these poems, which VARCHI did not know whether to call *compositions* or *maledictions*,[z] but which he very properly pronounced to be inferior to the *Morgante*, the style of which he considered vulgar. These poems have neither the charming *naïveté* of the common Italian of the fourteenth century; nor have they the slightest pretension either to PETRARCA's elegance, or DANTE's sublime harmony. They are even greatly inferior in all respects to the verses of BOCCACCIO, whose

[x] Cant. iv. st. lxx. It is, in fact, a poem founded on the same tradition as *Bevis of Hamptoun*, a specimen of which is given in ELLIS's *Specimens*, vol. ii.

[y] This was asserted even by GINGUENÉ. See *Hist. Lit. d'Ital.* part ii. c. iv.

[z] *Ercolano*, p. 40.

poetry has certainly more merit than critics have hitherto found in it, but which is really nothing compared with that of the two splendid poets just mentioned. After the age of these three great men, the style of Italian composition, as it is well known, grew worse and worse. 'Any one,' says VARCHI,[a] 'who wishes to satisfy himself of this, may consult the compositions of the UNICO ARETINO, of TIBALDEO, and of some others, which although not so bad as those of SASSO, NOTTURNO and ALTISSIMO, and many others, yet have nothing to do with either DANTE's learning or PETRARCA's neatness.' It was, as this writer very justly observes, only in the time of LORENZO DE' MEDICI that this vulgarity was abandoned, and an attempt made by him and by POLIZIANO to imitate the style of DANTE and PETRARCA. Now the style of these poems precisely resembles that of ALTISSIMO. We know that scarcely any but nameless poets wrote in Italy from about 1370 to 1470; and in fact the names of the writers of these compositions are for the greater part buried in oblivion. It is, therefore, but fair to conclude, that to that unhappy period these wretched compositions belong.

To give a sketch of the subjects of these poems would be an abuse of the reader's patience. To translate what GINGUENÉ says of them would be but little trouble, yet this also would be wanting in interest. That elegant historian has given some extracts from them to furnish an idea of

[a] Ibid. p. 37.

their manner. But as it will be necessary to allude to them when pointing out passages in far superior poems, which seem to have been suggested by these inferior compositions, any further discussion concerning them will not now be requisite. It is sufficient here to add, that *Trebisonda con la vita e morte di Rinaldo*, is avowedly translated from a French romance of this name.[b]

Before proceeding to speak of such of these poems, founded on tales connected with the history of the middle ages, as may seem to deserve particular attention, it will be proper to mention an Italian poem, founded on classical traditions, older in point of date than any other of this class, and in which the *ottava rima* (the metre since adopted for these poems with so much success) was first employed. To its author, one of the fathers of Italian literature, the world is indebted for his indefatigable diligence and incredible exertions in collecting MSS. of ancient authors, and in turning the attention of his contemporaries to the literature, not only of Rome but of Greece. The poem here alluded to is the *Teseide* written by Giovanni Boccaccio. *Theseus* was certainly a kind of knight errant, as we have

[b] Il vero verbo del figliuol di Dio . . . . .
Conceda grazie all' intelletto mio
Ch'io traslati, siccome mi vanto,
Di Francese in Latino il parlar mio,
Mettendo in rima di Carlo l'affranto.
Trebisonda, c. iii.

before observed, and his name must have stood very high in the middle ages, since he had the honour of being canonized. Legends respecting him must have existed in great number;[c] and Boccaccio avows at the outset in the letter, in which he addresses the poem to Fiammetta,[d] that he compiled it from a very ancient, and generally unknown story.[e] It was, therefore, a poem

[c] Mr. Tyrwhitt, in his *Introd. Disc. to the Cant. Tales*, says, that, if the story of Palamon and Arcite as related by Boccaccio, 'was of Greek origin (as I rather suspect) it must have been thrown into its present form, after the Norman princes had introduced the manners of chivalry into their dominions in Sicily and Italy.' The opinion here advanced, is, I think, correct. The Normans who settled in Brittany adopted the Welch traditions, with which they mixed their own. Those Normans, who from Brittany went to the kingdom of Naples and settled there, carried into that country this mixed kind of popular stories and ballads, which they altered anew by an infusion of the popular traditions of Greek origin, which they found scattered among the southern Italians.

[d] A favourite name, used by him in many of his works, which he gave to a lady whom he loved, and who is generally believed to have been Maria, the natural daughter of Robert King of Naples.

[e] Trovata un' antichissima storia e al più delle genti non manifesta . . . in latino volgare . . . ho ridotta. This letter is dated 13th April, 1341, Naples; a date which the learned annotator of Chaucer thinks a correct one. With the greatest diffidence I venture to dissent from him on this point. The *Teseide* displays, as we shall see, a degree of erudition which Boccaccio, when twenty-eight years old, (he was born in 1313) could not possess. Tiraboschi, *St. della Let. Ital.* vol. v. lib. iii. c. ii. § 39, is of opinion, that it was not before this time that he felt an irresistible inclination to poetry;

written like all others of this description, in which popular legends were embodied. But BOCCACCIO was not a strolling minstrel, nor was he living at the court of a prince, for whose amusement he was condemned to write. He says he composed this poem to please his Fiammetta, which may have been the case. But the poet had a still nobler end in view. DANTE[f] having said that the three great subjects of poetry were *War*, *Love*, and *Morality*, added that up to his times no one had written on *Arms*. BOCCACCIO, therefore, undertook to supply the defect, and prided himself on it in the eighty-fourth stanza of the last book of the *Teseide*.[g]

and even then he was obliged to study canon law for about six years, before dedicating himself to the Muses. *Geneal. Deor.* lib. xv. c. x. GINGUENÉ, *Hist. Lit. d'Ital.* part i. c. xv. thinks that BOCCACCIO was taken with this poetical fit in 1333; but it is of no consequence, even if it were so. It was on Easter-eve of that very year, 1341, that BOCCACCIO for the first time saw Maria. The letter to Fiammetta alludes to his love for her, and her return of affection, as things which had happened a long time before.

[f] The observation was first made by Mr. TYRWHITT in his *Introductory Discourse* to CHAUCER'S *Canterbury Tales*, § 9. The passage of DANTE is in his work *de Vulg. Eloq.* ii. 2. BOCCACCIO not having sung his poem like a minstrel, but having written it and sent it to Fiammetta, has called the twelve parts into which it is divided *Libri*, not *Canti;* and, for the same reason, each book begins and ends, like those of HOMER and VIRGIL, without any set form of introduction or conclusion.

[g] Mr. TYRWHITT has observed that this stanza is to be found correct only in the very rare edition of the poem,

Poichè le muse nude cominciaro
Nel cospetto degli uomini ad andare,
Già fur di quelli che le esercitaro
Con bello stile in onesto parlare,
Ed altri in amoroso le operaro ;
Ma tu, o libro, primo a lor cantare
Di Marte fai gli affanni sostenuti,
Nel volgar Lazio mai più non veduti.[h]

Then he continues,

E perciò che tu primo col tuo legno
Solchi quest' onde non solcate mai
Davvanti a te da nessun altro ingegno,
Benchè infimo sii, pure starai
Forse tra gli altri d'alcun onor degno.

Besides the merit of being the first who 'sailed in these waters,' and of having been, if not the inventor of the *ottava rima*, one who used it very early, and, for his days, not without elegance,

printed at Ferrara, 1475; and he is right. I transcribe it, only modernizing the orthography, from Mr. TYRWHITT, who copied it from the Ferrara edition, since even the edition of Milan, 1819, by Silvestri, does not give the true reading. Indeed the whole poem is but indifferently edited; a circumstance the more remarkable, as Silvestri's editions are generally correct.

[h] I adopt *Lazio* from the Milan edition, instead of *Latino*, an evident error printed in that of Ferrara. DANTE said that CINO DA PISTOJA had written on *Love*, and his friend (viz. DANTE himself) on *Morality*. See PERTICARI, *Dell' Amor Patrio di Dante*. BOCCACCIO probably had PETRARCA in view as the prince of poets, who wrote on love. He himself had written some poems on this subject, which he immediately burned on reading those of his great friend, the bard of Laura. PETRARC. *Epis. Senil.* lib. v. ep. iii.

Boccaccio has the honor of reckoning Chaucer among the imitators of his *Teseide*, it being from this poem that the tale of *Palamon and Arcite* is taken. Mr. Tyrwhitt has given a very good account of the *Teseide* in his notes to the *Canterbury Tales*, in which, besides his usual learning and taste, he displays an extraordinary acquaintance both with the literature and the language of Italy. Still neither the English, nor the Italian reader will be displeased, if something is here added on a subject, with which the names of Chaucer and Boccaccio are so intimately connected;[i] especially so, since Mr. Tyrwhitt, not having the same object in view, has not analysed the poem in the manner, which it has been thought proper to adopt in this place. The story of the *Teseide* is briefly this.

Theseus, Duke of Athens, offended at the conduct of the Amazons towards the Greeks, and thinking (but this is only a supposition), that

[i] Boccaccio wrote another poem in ten books, in *ottava rima*, belonging to this class. It is called *Filostrato* (φιλος-*stratus*, love-conquered). The *Filocopo* (φιλος-κοπος, lover-of-fatigue) is a kind of romance in prose, which, in some respects, may be said to belong to this class; as far, however, as a prose composition can. But it is not requisite to make more particular mention of these works. Arcita, who changed his name into that of Penteo, according to Boccaccio, when he went to the court of Theseus, incognito, for love of Emilia, is called *Philostrate* by Chaucer; a name which he evidently borrowed from his predecessor, and which was very well suited to Arcita's life and adventures, since he, like *Filostrato* of Boccaccio, is so well *knocked down* on account of his love for Emilia, that he dies of his fall, as we shall presently see.

women who profess hatred against men are public enemies, whose existence ought not to be suffered, went to make war upon them, in order to bring them to reason. Ippolita, a beautiful creature, was queen of the country when Theseus set off to conquer it, and, although she encouraged her fair subjects to defend themselves gallantly, she was by no means easy, not knowing from which part the enemy would come.

> Nè altrimenti il cinghiale che ha uditi
> Nel fiero bosco i cani e i cacciatori,
> I denti batte, e rugghia, e gli spediti
> Sentieri usa a salute, e pe' romori
> Che 'n quà, in là, in su, in giù ha sentiti,
> Nè sa quai vie per lui si sien migliori;
> Ma ora in giù, ed ora in su correndo,
> Sino al bisogno, incerto va fuggendo. I. 38.

Theseus on arriving in sight of the land of the Amazons, was much delighted;

> Siccome lioncel che fame pugne,
> Il qual più fier diventa e più ardito,
> Come la preda conosce la lugne,
> Vibrando i crin con feroce appetito. I. 42.

Having landed, in spite of opposition, (the Amazons lived in Scythia, and were attacked by sea) a battle took place, in which Theseus had very hard work. His soldiers were inclined to fly; he swore at Minerva, scolded them, and fought so bravely himself, that, at last, he obtained the victory; whereupon he was reminded by Ippolita

> Che guerreggiar con donne e aver vittoria,
> Al vincitore è più biasmo che gloria. I. 104.

Eventually, this unnatural war was put an end to, and Theseus married Ippolita. Several of his chiefs were united to other Amazons, who discovered that the court looked much better than before, with the new guests. The ladies very properly occupied themselves,

Ristorando il bel tempo che han perduto.

It was now two years since Theseus had left Athens, when he had a vision.

Nel dolce tempo che il sole fa belle
Le valli e i monti d'erbette e di fiori,
E le piante riveste di novelle
Fronde, sopra le quali i loro amori
Cantan gli uccelli; e le gaje donzelle
Di Citerea vieppiù senton gli ardori. II. 3.

The hero was walking in a garden when he imagined he saw his friend Piritoo, who reproached him for his idle life; whereupon he returned to Athens with his lady Ippolita and a most beautiful sister of hers, called Emilia: from thence he set off immediately, at the prayer of the widows of those warriors who had been slain in the war between Etheocles and Polinice at Thebes, and whose bodies the cruel Creon would not allow to be buried. This tyrant was soon routed, and he himself unhorsed by Theseus, who told him he was about to kill him, and deprive him of a tomb.

Non avilissi il barbaro Creonte
Perchè abbattuto si vedesse in terra,
Nè sembianza mutò l'ardita fronte,
Nè mitigossi nel cuor la sua guerra;
Anzi più fiero con parole pronte,
Aspri concetti parlando disserra

A quel che sopra il petto fier gli stava,
E col suo ferro morte minacciava.

E' disse a lui: fanne il tuo piacere
Perched i' muoja, avvanti che vittoria
Veggia per te o per tua gente avere;
Chè l' alma mia almeno alcuna gloria
Ne porterà con seco nel parere;
E segnato terrà nella memoria
Che 'n dubbio i suoi e i miei lasciò d'onore:
N'avranno però i miei, credo, il migliore.

Questo ne porterò negli infernali
Iddii quasi contento: e se poi fia
Il corpo mio donato agli animali,
Senz' altro foco, ciò l'alma disia:
Però che parte delli mie' gran mali,
Di quà della riviera oscura e ria,
La qual vuoi far passare ai Greci morti,
Celerò, se non fia chi là mi porti.

Or fa omai quel che t' è più grato
Che non mi curo; e tacque: ed intrattanto
L'avie Teseo già tutto disarmato:
E perchè avea già tutto il sangue spanto,
Il vide il Duca del viso cambiato:
E già era freddato tutto quanto. II. 63.

On the field of battle, among the wounded, were found two Greek youths, who, being of the race of Cadmus, were by Theseus condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the ducal palace in Athens. These two youths, were Arcita and Palemone. It was from a window of their room which looked upon a garden that Arcita, one fine morning, saw Emilia gathering flowers. He was attracted to the window by the sweet and gay love-verses which she was singing. Struck with her beauty, he called Palemone (who was still in bed)

to come and look at Venus. Palemone obeyed; and the conclusion was, that they both fell desperately in love with Emilia, who, hearing a sigh, breathed in a sentimental moment by Palemone, blushed, then grew pale, and immediately left the garden.[j]

Nè fu nel girsen via senza pensiero
Di quell' *omè*, bench' ella giovinetta
Fosse, più che non chiede amor intero;
Pur seco intese ciò che quegli affetta.
E sappiendole pure saper vero
D'esser piaciuta, seco si diletta,
E più se ne tien bella, e più s'adorna
Qualora poscia a quel giardin ritorna

. . . .

Continuando adunque il gir colei
Sola talvolta, e tale a compagnia
Nel bel giardino ad ispasso di lei,
Nascosamente gli occhi tuttavia
Rizzava alla finestra, ove l'omei
Prima di Palemone udito avia:
Non che a ciò amor la costringesse,
Ma per vedere s'altri vi vedesse.

E se da alcun vedeva riguardarsi,
Quasi di ciò non si fosse avveduta,
Cantando, cominciava a dilettarsi
In voce dilettevole ed arguta;

[j] In the *Reali di Francia*, there is a story of two young damsels who had Fioravante in their custody, and who fell both in love with him. These two ladies came to blows on this account, but, finally, having agreed that he should choose, they went to him, and he chose Dusolina. Upon this, Galeana, the other damsel, went in despair before the statue of Apolina imploring the destruction of Dusolina, as well as of Fioravante; and having finished her imprecative prayer; con le pugna strette, e per la grande abbondanza del sangue che le corse al core, per gran dolore cadde morta a terra. lib. ii. c. xv.

E su per l'erbe colli passi scarsi,
Fra gli arbuscelli, d'umiltà vestuta
Donnescamente giva, e s'ingegnava
Di più piacere a chi la riguardava.

Nè la recava a ciò pensier d'amore
Che ella avesse, ma la vanitate;
Chè innato è nelle femmine nel core
Il far vedere altrui la lor biltate;
E, quasi ignude d'ogni altro valore,
Contente son di quella esser lodate.

III. 19. 28. 29. & 30.

The two young squires (so they are dubbed by Boccaccio. III. 20.) were loving without hope, (which Ariosto says is nonsense) when Pirithous recognizing Arcita, an old friend of his, obtains his liberation from Theseus, on condition that he shall leave the Duke's dominions, and never return under pain of death. Arcita regretted much to lose sight of the lady, and thought it was too high a price, even for his liberty. He envied the fate of Palemone who, weather permitting, would still enjoy the happiness of seeing Emilia in the garden. At last he is compelled to go, Palemone being still kept in prison. The two friends and relations separated with many tears and embraces.

Leaving Athens, Arcita wandered about distracted with grief, and having lost all his beauty, so that he did not seem the same man. Taking the name of *Penteo*, he went into the service of Menelaus at Mycenæ, then of Peleus at Ægina, and lastly he ventured to go to Athens, where he became a favorite attendant on Theseus. Here he lived happily; for he could enjoy the sight of

Emilia. The lady having keener eyes than others, had recognised him, and she wondered what brought him to a place which might prove so dangerous to him. She very prudently did not speak of it to any one; and he behaving very cautiously, the secret was never discovered.

With due precaution he admired Emilia's beauty.

> Ed ella savia talor se ne andava
> Mostrando non saper che fosse amare:
> Ma pur era già ita innanzi tanto,
> Ch'ella di ciò ne conosceva alquanto. IV. 61.

As he retired often to a wood, to complain of his hard fate, Penteo was overheard by Panfilo, a servant of Palemone, who recognised him, and informed his master of the discovery. Palemone had been all the time imprisoned, weeping over his cruel destiny; sometimes, however, hoping that he might one day or other be liberated from prison;

> Della qual fuor, l'amor della sua manza
> Senza alcun fallo crede acquisterebbe. V. 4.[k]

At Panfilo's intelligence, however, he began to think that Arcita had succeeded in gaining the affection of Emilia, and he imagined that the affair had now taken a serious turn. He, therefore, contrived to escape from his prison, and armed cap-a-pee, sought the wood where Arcita was wont to retire, and where he was now sleeping.

[k] That is 'l'amor della su' amanza.' *Manza* for *amanza*, is one of those elegant maiming of words, which ignorant copyists introduced, and which are considered gems by all pedants who, by preferring *rena* to *arena*, fully agree that *Emilia* was *una manza*. *Amanza* is used by Boccaccio in this same book, st. 40.

Palemone waited some time that he might not disturb his rest, till Arcita awoke, and the rivals soon recognized each other. Palemone having in vain required him to renounce solemnly his love for Emilia, and the request (which Arcita thought very extraordinary) not being complied with, he insisted upon fighting. It was in vain that Arcita remonstrated with him, saying, that it was ridiculous for them to fight for that, which neither of them possessed, nor were likely to possess, but which they both would most certainly lose, were it discovered that one of them had escaped from prison, and that the other had returned to Athens against a solemn agreement not to do so. He suggested that both should do their best to gain Emilia's heart, and that he who should succeed should possess her, and the other go about his business. Palemone would not listen to any such arrangement, whereupon a battle ensued, and Arcita smote his adversary so severely that he thought he had killed him.

Egli il tirava degli arcion di fuori
Soavemente, e l'elmo gli cavava,
E in su l'erbetta fresca, e sopra i fiori
Teneramente a giacere il posava ;
E poi con mano, di freschi licori
Dal vicin rio a suo poter pigliava,
E'l viso gli bagnava acciò che s'esso
Non fosse morto si risenta adesso. v. 69.

Palemone having returned to his senses, the battle was renewed more fiercely than before, owing to his desperate fury; when Theseus, together with his lady and Emilia, arriving on the

spot as they were hunting, beheld the combat. It was interrupted by Theseus, who learnt, to his great surprise, the cause of the strife, as well as the names of the two champions. He at first thought of carrying into effect, the law which gave him a right over their lives, but he changed his mind, saying;

> Ma perchè già innamorato fui
> E per amor sovvente folleggiai,
> Mi è caro molto il perdonare altrui. v. 92.

Pardoning both of them, he gave them back their estates, and determined that at the end of a year the two lovers should meet in the lists, each accompanied by one hundred knights, and fairly fight for the lady. The conqueror was to have Emilia, the conquered to be at her mercy. The two lovers cheerfully submitted to this arrangement, and began to live with the splendour suitable to their rank, and to enlist friends who might afford them their assistance on the day of battle. A catalogue is given of all the heroes who arranged themselves on either side, and the prayers are recorded, which were addressed by the parties to their patron Gods; by Arcita to Mars; by Palemone to Venus; and by Emilia to Diana. The combat is then described in which Palemone was taken prisoner, so that Mars granted the prayer of his opponent; but Venus, to fulfil Palemone's desire, sent a fury, who frightened the horse of Arcita. The hero having fallen under his steed, received a mortal injury. Emilia, as soon as she saw Palemone prisoner, becoming enamoured

of Arcita, was very much affected at his misfortune, (the more so, there is reason to think, as Palemone also was wounded,) and went to console him.

> Quale i fioretti rinchiusi ne' prati
> Per lo notturno freddo, tutti quanti
> S'apron, come dal sol son riscaldati,
> E'l prato fanno con più be' sembianti
> Rider, tra l'erbe verdi mescolati; ix. 28.[1]

such became Arcita on hearing her sweet words. He recovered strength enough to enter Athens in a triumphal chariot, with the lady by his side, whom he married. But being given over by the physicians, he entreats of Theseus that all his property may pass to Palemone, whom he wishes united to Emilia after his own death; a wish which he expresses also to Palemone, and to the lady herself. The words which the poet puts into the mouth of Arcita, are full of feeling and elegance. He says to Palemone, speaking of Emilia;

> E s'ella forse per la morte mia
> Pietosa desse alcuna lagrimetta,
> Sì la raccheta che contenta sia,
> Perocchè la sua vita leggiadretta
> Fatt' ha l'anima mia di lei sì pia,
> Che il riso suo più me che lei diletta;
> E così il pianto suo più me contrista,
> Ond' io mi cambio com' è la sua vista.

[1] Quale i fioretti dal notturno gelo
Chinati e chiusi, poi che il sol gl'imbianca
Si drizzan tutti aperti in loro stelo.
DANTE, *Inf.* ii. 127.

In questa guisa, se l'anima sente,
Po' la morte, del corpo alcuna cosa
Di queste quà, tra la turba dolente
Andrà con più d' ardire e men dogliosa. x. 46.

Arcita at last dies, with the name of Emilia on his lips. A solemn funeral is celebrated for him, and a temple is erected to his memory by Palemone, where the whole history, which forms the subject of the poem is painted.

After many days, Theseus thought that it was time to carry into effect Arcita's dispositions, and to cease from mourning; wherefore he called a solemn meeting of all the nobles, at which he delivered a speech, the beginning of which is very quaint.

Siccome alcuno che giammai non visse
Non morì mai; così si può vedere
Che alcun non visse mai, che non morisse. XII. 6.

And he proceeds to say just what we hear said every day on such occasions. He concludes with advising the marriage of Palemone and Emilia. The former thinks it would appear, by so doing, that he desired Arcita's death; and the latter affects great coyness, and pleads a vow made to Diana. Theseus overrules the objections; and the lady, being cheered up by her *female friends*, in a few days is just as gay and beautiful as before. Her beauty is described at some length by the poet, as well as the rites of the marriage, and the festivals held on account of it. After two honey-moons, (the reader is reminded that this is not a narration of *real* events, but a romance,) Palemone with his lady returns to his own

country, as do all the rest of the party to theirs; and thus the poem ends.

'From this sketch of the Theseida,' says Mr. Tyrwhitt, 'it is evident enough that Chaucer was obliged to Boccace for the plan and principal incidents of the Knightes Tale; and in the notes upon that tale I shall point out some passages, out of many more, which are literal translations from the Italian.' That the passages, which are but literal translations of the Italian in Chaucer, are a great many more than the few which Mr. Tyrwhitt has pointed out, is an undeniable fact. Chaucer not only translated passages which fell in his way, but collected together in some cases such favorite lines as were scattered in different parts of the poem, and having recourse even to the sources from whence Boccaccio himself had drawn, he united them together, and embellished his tale with the versions of them. Take, for instance, the following lines.

> The destinee, ministre general
> That executeth in the world over al
> The purveiance, that God hath sen beforne;
> So strong it is, that though the world had sworne
> The contrary of a thing by ya or nay,
> Yet somtime it shall fallen on a day
> That falleth nat efte in a thousand yere.
>
> v. 1664, et seq.

This reflection of the poet is drawn forth by the sudden arrival of Theseus and his hunting party in the wood where Arcita and Palemon are fighting; whereas Boccaccio has simply said on that occasion;

Che come noi veggiam venire in ora
Cosa che in mille anni non avviene. v. 77.

It was only at the beginning of the following book that the Italian threw out some thoughts on *destinee* or *fortuna*.

L'alta ministra del mondo fortuna
Con volubile modo permutando
Di questo in quello più volte ciascuna
Cosa, togliendo e talora donando,
Or mostrandosi chiara, e quando bruna,
Secondo che le pare, come e quando,
Avea ne' suoi effetti a' due Tebani
Mostrato ciò che può ne' ben mondani. vi. 1.

The 'alta Ministra del Mondo' is 'the general Ministre that executeth the purveiance that God hath sen beforne,' according to CHAUCER. This, however, was not an original alteration and addition, but was taken from DANTE.

Colui lo cui saver tutto trascende,
Fece li Cieli, e diè lor chi conduce,
Sì che ogni parte ad ogni parte splende,
Distribuendo ugualmente la luce:
Similemente agli splendor mondani
Ordinò general ministra e duce,
Che permutasse a tempo li ben vani
Di gente in gente, e d'uno in altro sangue,
Oltre la difension de' senni umani.[m]

DANTE here dresses, in very fine verses, a theological opinion of St. AUSTIN, who says, 'Nos eas causas quæ dicuntur fortuitæ (unde etiam Fortuna nomen accepit) non dicimus nul-

[m] *Inf.* vii. 73.

las, sed latentes; easque tribuimus, vel veri Dei, vel quorumlibet spirituum voluntati.'[n] It was these *causas latentes* that DANTE had in view when he alluded to,

> . . . . lo giudicio di costei
> Che è occulto, come in l'erba l'angue.[o]

Any one who will read the *Teseide*, and then consult what many critics have written and said on that poem, will be astonished at so much injustice and ignorance. It is true that it is not a poem of the very first order, either in point of invention or of style; but who will deny that it possesses great merit, when considered as the first attempt of the kind, and written five centuries ago? Even if the story be taken altogether from an ancient romance, the style alone requires that the poem should be spoken of with more respect. Many of the extracts which have been here inserted are, in point of style, worthy of a great poet, and many more might be adduced where the author of the *Decameron* may be discovered in the richness of the descriptions, the liveliness of the images, the vigour and elegance of the comparisons, and in the depth of passion. Although this is not enough to constitute a good poem, these qualities, nevertheless, attract our attention, and engage our imagination. It is, however, undeniable, that this poem fails in some of its principal parts. The story might be very

[n] Quoted by LOMBARDI. *Com. alla div. Com.* l. c.
[o] ibid. 83.

interesting to two lovers, particularly if it be true, as BOCCACCIO asserts in his letter to FIAMMETTA, that she would be reminded by that poem of many circumstances which had actually occurred between him and herself. But to us the interest is very slight. When we see all the mighty contest between the 'flower of chivalry,' to decide whether Arcita or Palemone shall become possessed of Emilia, we are disposed to smile at this much ado about nothing, and say with honest Theseus;

> E non credetti che tutta Lernea
> Sotto li regi Achivi si movesse
> Per così poca cosa. VII. 5.

This poem wants one quality indispensible to true epopee; a *grand* subject. The characters moreover are not such as we are accustomed to admire in HOMER and TASSO. *Subject* and *characters* are the two cardinal points of a poem; and when neither incidents nor persons are striking, grand, interesting, *epic* in fact, the deficiency is so great that it can scarcely be supplied by any attention paid to minor parts. Episodes of peculiar merit indeed are required to make up for the defect of the main action and principal personages. But the wars of the Amazons and of Thebes, and the descriptions of the funeral, of the triumph, and of the nuptials, do not possess such retrieving qualities, although they are far from being deficient in merit.

In general Mr. TYRWHITT has rendered justice to BOCCACCIO. When speaking of the *Mam-*

briano, the author of the *Teseide* will be compared with CHAUCER in the description of the *Temple of Mars*. In the meantime it may not be improper to say a few words respecting the comparative merit of the two poets, which has been alluded to by Mr. TYRWHITT with regard to the origin of the passion upon which the poem is founded. It is not the style, but the invention which is here examined. 'In describing the commencement of this amour, which is to be the subject of the remainder of the poem, Chaucer has entirely departed from his author in three principal circumstances, and, I think,' says Mr. TYRWHITT, 'in each with very good reason. 1. By supposing Emilia to be seen first by Palamon, he gives him an advantage over his rival, which makes the catastrophe more consonant to poetical justice. 2. The picture which BOCCACE exhibited of two young princes, violently enamoured of the same object, without jealousy or rivalship, if not absolutely unnatural, is certainly very insipid and unpoetical. 3. As no consequence is to follow from their being seen by Emilia at this time, it is better, I think, to suppose, as Chaucer has done, that they are not seen by her.'[p]

[p] In the last edition of WARTON'S *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, a note has been added, vol. ii. p. 191, in which these accusations of Mr. Tyrwhitt against BOCCACCIO have been repeated, and only rendered somewhat ridiculous by the bitter spirit and the partiality which dictated them. That note concludes with some general praises of CHAUCER, and disapprobation of BOCCACCIO, unworthy of a critic. We are told, for instance, that

The difference between the plan of BOCCACCIO and that of CHAUCER, with respect to the catastrophe, will show that both poets have acted very skilfully throughout their compositions. We must bear in mind that BOCCACCIO's purpose was, in fact, neither more nor less than to compose an epic poem, whilst CHAUCER wrote a *tale* founded on the principal incidents of that poem. CHAUCER's catastrophe is more consonant to poetical justice, because, in conclusion, Palamon, who was in fairness entitled to Emilia, obtains her; whilst Arcite, who had taken advantage of Palamon's

'on the whole, Chaucer has eminently shewn his good sense and judgment in rejecting the superfluities, and improving the general arrangement of the story.' What would be thought if any one should say; 'Chaucer has omitted some of the best parts of the story, full of beauties, which he could neither feel nor equal. By so doing, he has shewn himself greatly inferior to Boccaccio, and his tale appears to great disadvantage when compared with the Teseide.' Assertions like these are not worth a straw. Instead of asserting that CHAUCER has 'rejected superfluities, improved the general arrangement of the story, corrected or softened Boccaccio's false manners,' &c. let these superfluities, improvements, corrections, false manners, &c. be pointed out, and then we shall see what truth there is in such vague assertions. WARTON finds even reason to praise CHAUCER for having 'neglected the embarrassment of Boccaccio's stanzas, and preferred the English heroic couplet.' Is this a merit? what does *embarrassment* mean here? Even measure and rhyme are *embarrassments;* would it be better that they should be neglected? Why not find fault with SPENSER for not neglecting the *embarrassment* of the stanza? And why not find fault with CHAUCER himself, who did not neglect this *embarrassment* in *the Man of Lawes Tale*, in *the Clerkes Tale*, &c.?

friendship, loses her: and this pleasing conclusion was perhaps the fittest for a tale. Boccaccio, on the contrary, who aimed at a higher object, supposes that Arcita loses the lady whom he certainly ought to have possessed, according to our notions of justice, and with her he loses his life. The catastrophe in Chaucer is more agreeable; in Boccaccio it is more affecting. In Chaucer, a young lover, after many troubles, happily obtains what he desires, and we rejoice at his success; in Boccaccio, a young lover, after having gone through great hardships, after having sacrificed every thing, after having run the greatest risks, and being by his valour entitled to the person who had been the constant object of his affection, is by a *sleight of hand*, by an unworthy abuse of power, of which heathen deities were so often guilty, deprived of the object of all his cares and anxiety, and is moreover cruelly murdered by the interposition of a superior agent. The end of the tale of Chaucer satisfies our imagination. The end of the poem of Boccaccio touches us more, and produces that kind of melancholy feeling which affects us so much at the conclusion of a tragedy. After having perused both poems, no reader would be ashamed of being Arcita, unfortunate as he is, but perhaps some would not be willing to be Palamon. It is for this reason that Arcita is supposed by Boccaccio to be the first to see Emilia; and it is to render Arcita a favourite with the reader that Boccaccio supposes him more amiable, more moderate, more

ready to sacrifice every thing to his passion than Palemone. Hence it is that he appears as more brave, more generous, and more magnanimous than his rival. Arcita is undoubtedly ill-used by Palemone, and yet in dying gives to his unworthy friend the greatest proofs of affection that it was ever possible to give: his character is the noblest that could be conceived, according to Boccaccio: according to Chaucer, Arcite is but a repentant sinner, a guilty man, who is justly punished by heaven, and who, when dying, makes the best reparation he can for his evil conduct: but his generosity does not strike us, nor is it nearly so grand and affecting as in Boccaccio. His death moves us to tears in the Italian poem; it is the very thing that we desire in the English tale.

'The catastrophe is more consonant to poetical justice;' let it be so; but if we do not admit that the end justifies the means, we cannot be pleased with those which are employed to bring about this conclusion. In both poems Arcita addresses prayers to Mars, Palemone to Venus; Arcita begs for victory; Palemone, even in Chaucer, is made to say, that he cares not for conquest, provided he obtains the lady,[q] which by no means increases our good opinion of him. We should like to see him as gallant in war as he was warm in love, asking for victory, because, accord-

[q] I rekke not, but it may better be,
To have victorie of hem, or they of me,
So that I have my lady in min armes.
Cant. Tales, v. 2247.

ing to the agreement, victory was the only fair means of possessing Emilia, to whom he was already justly entitled. In Boccaccio, Palemone, who begs to obtain the lady, let the issue of the battle be what it may, loses, as he ought, in comparison with the generous Arcita, who knowing that he loved Emilia before his rival, asks now, as a matter of right, that she should become his by the lawful means agreed upon, that is by his victory over Palemone. The conduct of Palamon is also very improper in Chaucer, he being the favorite hero of the poet, when he is found by Theseus fighting against Arcite in the wood. On Theseus asking the combatants who they are, Arcita, according to Boccaccio, tells his name, but leaves Palamone to repeat his own story: in Chaucer, Palemon asks Theseus to kill him, but since he is to die, he most ungenerously requests Theseus to kill Arcite also, whom he basely denounces. He particularly mentions the circumstance that Arcite had imposed upon Theseus by living in his house under a disguised name, and most bitterly insists upon this circumstance to render Theseus more inveterate against Arcite. When at last Arcite in dying, acts as he is supposed to do towards Palamon, his conduct renders the character of Palamon strikingly inferior. Arcita would appear very high indeed, as he is in Boccaccio, were he not, according to Chaucer, wrong from the beginning, in acting in so unjustifiable a manner towards his friend. It would have suited Boccaccio's plan to represent Palemone denouncing

his friend; but perhaps the poet conceived that the character would have become intolerably despicable.

The second charge brought against Boccaccio by Mr. Tyrwhitt, for representing the two lovers without jealousy or rivalship, is somewhat better founded. The reason of it may, however, be assigned. Those who have read the other works of Boccaccio will soon perceive that such reason is to be found in that poet's notions of love. The explanation about to be given is not meant as a moral one, but only as one which is extremely likely to be true. The two lovers are represented by Boccaccio without jealousy as long as they are both imprisoned, the poet not being, it seems, inclined to think that people could quarrel on account of this kind of conjunct worship of a lady, when they both were at so respectable a distance from her. The essence of love, according to him, was any thing but Platonic. When one of the two lovers is out of prison and near Emilia, then the other, who was in durance and far from her, became jealous, because then only the love of Arcita and Emilia might possibly become, according to the poet's notions, worth envying. The two lovers, shut up in the same room and quarrelling so desperately as Chaucer supposes, must have knocked each other's brains out there and then. As soon as the state of affairs is worth the being jealous, then, according to Boccaccio, the two friends become rivals, and proceed to the

combat. That the author of the *Canterbury Tales* shows a higher and more refined idea of love than the author of the *Decameron* is unquestionable. Yet the behaviour of the two lovers, according to the latter, is so far from being unnatural that it may be accused of being too plainly *natural* without any *beau ideal* to spiritualize it.

It is somewhat remarkable that so acute a critic as Mr. Tyrwhitt should have overlooked the consequence which follows, from Emilia being aware from the very first moment that she was seen by both the lovers. Boccaccio may be accused of having had a very wicked reason in the introduction of this circumstance, but not of having had no reason at all. In perusing the analysis of the *Teseide*, as well as *Palamon and Arcite*, the reader must have been struck with the character of Emilia. According to both poets she maintains the most provoking neutrality throughout the business. In love, as in politics, neutrality often begets contempt; and it is to be wondered how any one could be so infatuated as to love one who evinced no passion in return. She tells Diana (and we are bound to believe a lady's word) that she wants to be 'a mayden all hire lif;' but she adds the prayer, that if she must marry either Palamon or Arcite, then, says she, 'sende me him that most desireth me;' a very wise, but very unpoetical prayer. It so happens, as the reader is already informed, that Arcite is

the conqueror, and is proclaimed such 'with the loude minstralcie.' Full of glory he unfastens his helmet,

> And on a courser for to shew his face
> He priketh endelong the large place,
> Loking upward upon this Emilie;
> And she again him cast a frendlich eye,
> (For women, as to speken in commune,
> They folwen all the favour of fortune)
> And was all his in chere, as his in herte.
>
> *Cant. Tal.* v. 2679.

But behold! The fury causes Arcita to fall from his horse, in consequence of which he dies. Emilia had begun to love Arcita when she saw him in health and victorious, and Palemone conquered and wounded; but (as Ariosto suspected Doralice of thinking) Arcita was very well whilst alive, but what good could she do with him dead? accordingly, being cheered up by *her female friends*, as Boccaccio rather maliciously states, she marries Palemone. It is evident that Emilia, in spite of her wise prayer to Diana, was any thing but disposed to remain 'a mayden all hire lif;' although it is equally clear that she was not particular as to which of the two lovers was to be hers. She was in fact a perfect *coquette*. We see this in Boccaccio from the very beginning, in consequence of her perceiving that she is looked at by the two prisoners. Let the reader peruse again the st. 19, 28, 29, and 30, of the third canto of the *Teseide*, and he will immediately perceive that Boccaccio wanted to make us acquainted with

the character of Emilia. Her subsequent conduct is just what we might expect from her, whilst in CHAUCER, except by having recourse to the general maxim, which he rather unchivalrously lays down, 'that all women folwen the favour of fortune,' we cannot explain how and why Emilia, who so devoutly prayed to Diana, transfers so suddenly her affection from one suitor to another. When we know how she conducted herself on being aware that she was looked at, we are perfectly sure that she was imposing upon Diana, and we may guess she would easily forget, not only Arcita, but even Palemone and a few more after their death.[r] Moreover, her being aware of the prisoners observing her from the beginning, is to be connected with this *discreet* young lady's conduct when she recognises Arcita at the court of Theseus, particularly with her cunning pretences of innocence so sharply alluded to by BOCCACCIO in the last four verses of st. 61, c. vi. already quoted.

Mr. TYRWHITT has brought forward another accusation against BOCCACCIO. 'When we have read,' says the ingenious critic, 'in the Theseida, a long and learned catalogue of all the heroes of

[r] In fact, *Arcita* was the *second* lover she forgot; for, before, she was to have been married to one *Acate*, a cousin of Theseus, by this hero's arrangement. *Teseid.* i. 137, iv. 35, v. 94, xii. 41. We are never told she either liked or disliked him. We only learn that his death was an *unfortunate* thing for her. iv. 35. This serves still more to make her character understood. Acate is not even mentioned by CHAUCER.

antiquity brought together upon this occasion, we are only the more surprised to see Theseus in such an assembly, conferring the honour of knighthood upon the two Theban chieftains.' Why, the surprise is pretty much like that which many a reader will feel at Arcite saying ;

> Now it me shape eternally to dwelle,
> Not only in *purgatorie*, but in helle.
>
> *Cant. Tal.* v. 1227.

Those, however, who are acquainted with the old romances, as most certainly the elegant critic was, know very well that Hector and Theseus, Joshua and David, and all ancient heroes are constantly presented in the knightly costume. There is nothing more extraordinary at their being knighted, than at their fighting a solemn duel like knights of the middle ages, as CHAUCER, following BOCCACCIO, supposes them to do. With what justice can it be said, that because when Palemone and Arcita met the first time in the wood, they were friendly and civil to each other, this was too much in the style of romance? Their being civil to each other is no more in the style of romance than what we find in CHAUCER ; that before the duel in the wood,

> Everich of hem halpe to armen other,
> As frendly, as he were his owen brother.
>
> *Cant. Tal.* v. 1653.

The sneer, at the long and learned catalogue of all the heroes of antiquity, and the assertion,

that in the description of the combat, 'the great advantage which Chaucer has over his original in this respect is, that he is much shorter,' is both unfair and ungenerous. Had CHAUCER translated BOCCACCIO's description of the combat and the catalogue of heroes of the *Teseide*, he would have acted most injudiciously, particularly because the 'veray parfit gentil knight' who tells the tale of *Palamon and Arcite* cannot be supposed to enter into these particulars, which would have taken up too much time in the relation. BOCCACCIO, who wanted to embellish his subject with the splendid epic forms of the great poems of antiquity, gave a catalogue of the combatants, and a description of the combat, neither of which is, in many parts, destitute of merit. It is for this reason, and in order that he might be able to say that 'he sang of arms,' that he described the two wars of Theseus against the Amazons and against Creonte; both of which episodes CHAUCER has very properly omitted in his tale. But this brevity of the imitator cannot in justice give him the advantage over his original. Let the reader only again peruse the speech of Creonte when he was about to be slain by Theseus,[8] and say whether it is a merit not to have written such lines.

It is ungenerous to treat with such scornful irony the *long* and *learned* catalogue of the Grecian heroes by BOCCACCIO, as well as to condemn

[8] *Teseid.* II. 63, et seq. quoted above, pag. 169.

so indiscriminately 'sa mauvaise méthode étymologique.'[u] We may now laugh at such a catalogue, but it was a prodigy of erudition when it was written; it is not a second-hand knowledge vainly displayed; it is the best evidence of the gigantic studies of Boccaccio, as his titles of works formed of Greek words are a monument of his ardour for the study of that language and of his acquirements in it. Where was the man, five hundred years ago, who could write such a catalogue, or give a Greek title to a work? To ridicule Boccaccio's pedantry is very easy; where is now the man who has accomplished for Greek literature what Boccaccio did in his days? The same enthusiasm for the Greek language, which made the poet compose his catalogues of Greek heroes, and call his books by Greek names, made him travel from Milan to Florence to solicit the unprecedented establishment of a professorship of Greek from the government of his native city; it was this enthusiasm which impelled him, so soon as the professorship was founded, to hasten from Florence to Venice to fetch an uncouth professor, whom he lodged in his own house; it was this enthusiasm which induced him to purchase, at an enormous expence, poor as he was, a great number of Greek MSS., and to copy a still greater number with incredible patience; and it is to this enthusiasm that we are indebted for many Greek works, and for many excellent texts

[u] Ginguené, *Hist. Lit. d'Ital.* part i. ch. xv.

of the Greek classics. That coxcombs should laugh at some strange cosmographical notions of Colombo is quite natural; but the man of education will remember, that he who may seem inferior to a boy of twelve years of age in our days, in the knowledge of the position of some part of the globe, was the man who discovered a new world. His quaint notions, nay, his mistakes are to be respected as evidence that even genius pays its tribute to humanity, else we should consider a great man as being of a superior order, and dispair of the inferior portion of mankind.

After these observations, which could not be properly omitted in an historical *Essay* of this kind, we shall revert to the anaylisis of those narrative poems, which are founded on the romanesque traditions of the middle ages, and among which the *Morgante* of Pulci occupies a prominent station.

Luigi Pulci was born on the 3rd of December, 1431. Of his life very little is known. He was, it seems, of a good but poor family.[v] Pulci obtained some public office,[w] probably through the influence of Lorenzo de' Medici,[x] with whose friendship he was honoured. He seems to have visited the principal cities of Italy; Naples, Venice, Milan,[y] and even to have been in foreign and distant countries.[z] It has

[v] Pelli, *Elogio di* Pulci.

[w] *Sonetti di* M. Franco *e* L. Pulci. Son. 65. Son. 11.

[x] Son. 59 and 137. [y] Son. 93. 85. 86, 87, and 94.

[z] Andato io son per paesi lontani. Pulci, *Confessione.*

been said that he was a canon,[a] but no authority is alleged in support of this assertion. VOLTAIRE, who, by showing PULCI's irreligion, tried to defend one of his own poems, was much pleased to add a quality to PULCI's character which should cast some stigma on the clergy. The fact is, that PULCI was a layman, and married to LUCREZIA ALBIZZI, who bore him two sons that survived him.[b] It has been likewise asserted that he died at Padua very poor, and that, on account of his irreligion, his body was not allowed to be buried in consecrated ground. The precise time of his death is unknown; but it is not to be fixed before 1490.[c] That a man of his merits died in extreme poverty, whilst such a munificent friend of his as LORENZO was still alive, can be believed with difficulty. That his religion was not orthodox cannot be denied; but we shall have occasion to speak of this subject more at length hereafter.

It seems that he undertook to write his *Morgante* at the request of LUCREZIA TORNABUONI DE' MEDICI, the mother of LORENZO,[d] a lady distinguished alike for her piety and her literary ac-

[a] GINGUENÉ, *Hist. Lit. d'Ital.* part ii. ch. v.

[b] PELLI, l. c.

[c] GIAMBULLARI, dedicating the edition of the *Ciriffo Calvaneo*, of 1514, to LORENZO (son of GIULIANO) DE' MEDICI, says that LUCA PULCI had been dead for twenty-five years past. GAMBA, *Serie dei Testi di L.* 657. Now LUCA died before LUIGI. FRANCO and PULCI, Son. 37. GINGUENÉ is mistaken both in saying that LUIGI died in 1487, and that the first edition of the *Morgante* is posterior to his death.

[d] *Morg. Mag.* c. xxviii. st. 2. 131 and 136.

complishments,[e] and whose death, which occurred in 1482, is lamented by the poet. Parts of the poem were printed, it is supposed, about 1480, and twenty-three cantos of it were published in 1481.[f] But we are not told whether these are the first twenty-three cantos of the poem as we now read it, or whether what now forms the subject of twenty-eight cantos was originally contained in twenty-three. The extreme scarcity of these editions renders it difficult to verify the fact, which might perhaps be not devoid of interest in the history of this kind of poetry.

The sonnets which passed between him and Franco will be here noticed only so far as they may give us an insight into the character of Pulci and some parts of his poem. Were it not for this, those disgraceful poems would have been passed over in silence. Franco was a priest, and, if we can judge from these sonnets, of a very despicable character. The subject of them was a worthless strife between Pulci and Franco, each endeavouring to excel in pouring forth upon the other the most vulgar and low abuse, in the grossest language, imputing to him the lowest vices and the most abominable crimes. In an edition of these sonnets, which, it is said,[g] was printed *before* 1520, it is asserted that these two worthies did so only in joke. But if any one will take the trouble of

[e] Corniani, *Sec. della Let. Ital.* vol. ii.

[f] Gamba, *Serie dei Testi di Ling.* l. c.

[g] Pelli, l. c.

reading these verses, he will find in them repeated proofs that, if even it were true that the scurrilous contest began in jest, it was subsequently carried on in a thoroughly hostile spirit,[h] probably to the great amusement of LORENZO and his friends.

It would be loss of time to mention any other minor pieces of poetry which are considered to be written by PULCI. To his brother LUCA is attributed part of a poem entitled *Ciriffo Calvaneo,* of which undoubtedly LUIGI wrote a portion.[i] It was not completed by either of them, but was continued by BERNARDO GIAMBULLARI, or, as it is said, *riformato* in great part by him.[k] Generally it is now divided into seven cantos, which at first were published together as forming the first book of the poem which was

[h] See son. 21, 37 and 45. In son. 20 PULCI says:

Usanza è con sonetti e con provviso
Di rodersi un po', e basti, e dir buon giuochi;
Ma non toccar più in là ch'io te ne avviso
Che'l ceffo ti fie intriso;
Chè dare a chi non giostra vien da vile:
E suolsi in versi usar, chi è gentile,
Qualche tratto sottile,
O colpo destro, &c.

This is certainly in good earnest, and proving that PULCI felt that FRANCO's writing was past a joke.

[i] *Ciriffo Calvaneo* printed at Florence, 1509, by *Tubini* and *da Pistoja* registered in GAMBA, *Serie dei Testi di L.* 656.

[k] *Il Ciriffo Calvaneo* (diviso in iv canti) *col primo Libro di* LUCA PULCI, *ed il resto riformato per* BERNARDO GIAMBULLARI, Roma. Mazzocchio. 1514. GAMBA, *Serie dei T. di L.* 657.

written by the brothers PULCI.[l] This *Ciriffo* was a romance of chivalry respecting the Carlovingian race, and not of a subject altogether imaginary, as it has been asserted by many, followed by GINGUENÉ.[m] LUIGI PULCI tells us that he had begun to write a book respecting Louis the son of Charlemagne, whom, he says, did not degenerate from his father.[n] A little after he says, that if he has not praised Charlemagne enough in the *Morgante*, he regrets it, and hopes to render him due justice when speaking of his son in the *Ciriffo Calvaneo*.[o] From these two passages it would seem that he claimed the *Ciriffo* as his own work, in which

[l] GAMBA, ibid. 659.

[m] *Hist. Lit. d'Italie*, part ii. c. v.

[n] E veramente dal suo genitore
Non è questo figliuol degenerato;
Ma perchè io serbo altrove a fargli onore
In altro libro, o libel cominciato,
Ritorno al nostro primo Imperadore.
Morg. Mag. xxviii. 118.

[o] E s'io non ho quanto conviensi a Carlo
Satisfatto co'versi e coll' ingegno;
Io non posso il mio arco più sbarrarlo,
Tanto ch'io passi il consueto segno;
E dicone mia colpa, e ristorarlo
Aspetto al tempo del figliuol suo degno,
Ch'io farò in terra più che semideo,
Dove sarà Ciriffo Calvaneo.
Ibid. st. 129.

Had GINGUENÉ observed this, he would not have said that this poem was purement imaginaire, dépourvu de tout fondement historique, et des développements des charactères chevaleresques.

Luca had no concern. Be this as it may, since it is admitted that he had at least a share in it, we are justified in considering that poem as Luigi's own composition, in so far as it may serve to illustrate the *Morgante*, it being evident that, if not wholly written, it was at least sanctioned and approved of by him.

The sonnets of Franco and Pulci teem with very bold opinions concerning religion. Pulci wrote a short poem in *terza-rima*, called 'La Confessione,' where he retracts the irreligious opinions broached in his sonnets,[p] and sets forth his creed, which all his biographers have acknowledged to be orthodox, although he does not agree with the doctrine of the catholic church concerning original sin.[q] In a sonnet Pulci denies most of the miracles recorded in the Scriptures;[r] in another he ridicules the presumption of friars and their hypocrisy:[s] whilst, in a third, still ridiculing the metaphysical and theological disputes of friars, and even of philosophers, he speaks of the soul with culpable levity.[t] In this he was imitated by Franco,[u] who also pro-

[p] E la natura par che si diletti
Varie cose crear, diversi ingegni;
A me dette per dote i miei sonetti.
Confess.

[q] Che colpa ho io se quella madre antica
Mi creò con peccati e con difetti?
Ibid.

[r] Son. cxlvi.

[s] Son. cxliv.

[t] Son. cxlv.

[u] Son. lxii.

fessed the Manichean opinion that it was Satan that created evil.[v]

Foscolo observed,[w] that, before the Council of Trent, no Italian was deemed to be one bit less catholic if he took the liberty of laughing at some doctor in divinity, or even if he did not agree with the opinions held by the church. The minds of the Italians were particularly bent upon religious controversies in the time of Pulci, and it was out of the power of the court of Rome to force people to follow a creed by law established. A short time before the birth of Pulci, a schism had ended by a council deposing the pontiff. On the same year that the poet was born, a pope was elected (Eugenio IV.), who was likewise deposed by a council which he refused to obey. But before this event took place two councils were sitting, one at Ferrara and afterwards at Florence, the other at Basle, excommunicating one another, and the latter declaring the pope a perjured man, an heretic, and a simoniac.

The powerful family of Medici had been obliged to take a great part in these transactions. Pope John XXIII. who had been deposed by the Council of Constance, was accompanied thither by Cosimo de' Medici, the grandfather of Lorenzo. Cosimo was on the most friendly terms with Cossa (such was the name of the pope), even when he had been obliged to quit the tiara; and if he did not inherit from him treasures, as was asserted, he may have been instructed by the

[v] Son. xxxix. [w] *Quarterly Rev.* l. c.

wary priest how to lay the foundation of the unexampled greatness of his family in future.[x] Whilst PULCI was writing his *Morgante*, the famous conspiracy of the PAZZI took place. A pope and an archbishop were seen sharing in the plot, a cardinal was strongly suspected of being privy to it, and a soldier, Montesecco, having refused to commit this murder at such a time and in such a place as had been agreed upon by the conspirators, two priests were the persons destined to assassinate LORENZO DE' MEDICI. This plot was executed in a church, whilst the most august ceremony of the catholic religion was taking place. The temple was polluted with the blood of GIULIANO DE' MEDICI and some of his friends, whilst LORENZO, slightly wounded, scarcely escaped with his life. The cardinal was imprisoned, the archbishop hanged immediately in his pontifical robes at a window of the palace of government, and the priests, who failed in the attempt, which required men of better nerves,[y] were put to death. The pope, with an impudence scarcely to be believed, excommunicated Florence; and the clergy of that city declared solemnly, *having met in the name of the Holy Spirit*, that the pope was 'leno matris suæ, adulterorum minister, diaboli vicarius;' they called his bull of excommunication 'maledictam maledictionem damnatissimi judicis;' designed him as a 'delirum senem:' and concluded in the following

[x] DENINA, *Rivol. d'Ital.* lib. xviii. c. i.

[y] MACHIAVELLI, *Ist. Fior.* lib. ii.

words addressed to the Christian powers: 'Mercenarium jam pro pastore habitum alieno sanguine cognoscite. Fructus ejus obscuri non sunt: simonia, luxus, homicidium, proditio, hæresis.'[z]

On the other hand, the times of PULCI were also marked by the fiercest disputes between the followers of PLATO and those of ARISTOTLE in Italy. At Florence the former triumphed, and MARSIGLIO FICINO, an intimate friend of LORENZO as well as of PULCI, was at the head of the Platonists. But, as he was likewise a priest, he always tried to explain the Bible by means of PLATO's doctrines, which, in his opinion, were to be taught in the churches along with the gospel. SOCRATES was, according to MARSIGLIO, the type of our Redeemer, and Platonism was to be eternal like divine revelation, which, he said, could be understood only through PLATO. Not having, it seems, a greater veneration for the gospel than for any other book, he applied the expressions of the Vulgate to the strangest subject to which they might chance to suit,[a] if not according to the opinion of others, at least according to his own.

[z] The bull of excommunication, 'one of the most extraordinary specimens of priestly arrogance that ever insulted the common sense of mankind;' and the reply of the synod, of which it is properly said, that 'it is not in the power of language to convey a more copious torrent of abuse, than was poured out upon this occasion by the Florentine clergy on the supreme director of the church of Rome,' have been published by Mr. ROSCOE in his invaluable Life of LORENZO.

[a] Est homo Florentiæ missus a Deo, cui nomen est Joannes: hic venit ut de summa patris sui Laurentii apud

When PULCI was writing his poem, the Platonic academy founded by COSIMO DE' MEDICI was, by the patronage of LORENZO, in its highest glory. PULCI neatly, and rather ironically, alludes to it, and seems not to have had a very high opinion of academies and gymnasiums,[b] saying, that his muse delights in woods and in a quiet country life. A very delicate point of controversy between the Platonists and the Aristotelians was to discover the nature of the soul, and whether it was true that ARISTOTLE did not speak of it? It appears that LORENZO was very deeply engaged in this inquiry, which was ridiculed both by FRANCO and by PULCI, who advance opinions pregnant with materialism, with a jocular coolness scarcely to be borne.[c]

It seems, however, a fact, that PULCI was not a materialist. In his poem he alludes to two of his freest sonnets, the hundred and forty-fourth and hundred and forty-fifth, of the former of which he recites the beginning,[d] and complains that he has been misrepresented by friars, declaring that his intention is good, though he admits that his words are rather foolish; but adds, that he wrote only against hypocrites, threatening to lash them still more violently if

omnes auctoritate testimonium perhibeat. *Proem. to the trans. of* JAMBLICUS. This JOHN was afterwards LEO X.

[b] *Morg. Mag.* c. xxv. st. cxvi. cxvii.

[c] Son. lxii. and cxlv.

[d] *Morg. Mag.* xxviii. st. 42. 46.

they do not desist from abusing him. At the same time, however, he repeats that nothing certain can be known of what we are to become after death.[e]

The state of religion and of philosophy in the times when PULCI lived, will afford an explanation of his singular tenets, and of the scepticism which he openly professes. In the *Morgante* there is a certain fiend called *Astarotte*, who enters into the most difficult theological questions, and resolves the nicest points with great boldness, as we shall see hereafter. The great Paladin Orlando weeps over the fate of France, and of Charlemagne, and of Christianity; which, like all other human things, he supposes one day will fall.[f]

The theological learning displayed by Astarotte is so deep, that by the great TASSO it was asserted that that part of the *Morgante* which concerns him was written by MARSIGLIO FICINO himself.[g] Others have gone so far as to deny to PULCI even the merit of having written the poem,

[e] See ibid.

[f] Tutte cose mortal vanno ad un segno;
Mentre l'una sormonta e l'altra cade;
Così fia forse di cristianitade.
Morg. Mag. xxvi. 31.

The *Courier Français* has lately been tried in France, and acquitted, for having supposed exactly the same thing.

[g] *Lett. Poet.* 31. Nel Morgante, Rinaldo portato per incanto va in un giorno dall' Egitto a Roncisvalle a cavallo. E cito il Morgante perchè questa sua parte fu fatta da MARSIGLIO FICINO, ed è piena di molta dottrina teologica.

which they have attributed to POLIZIANO.[h] The very first of FRANCO's sonnets seems to imply that PULCI enjoyed great reputation as a poet, because nobody claimed the merit of having written what he asserted to be his.[i] The accusation of the latter is too general to be taken into consideration, even if it came from a respectable source. The more specific imputation of the former can be met with a directly opposite one of the same author, who fully acknowledges LUIGI as the writer of the *Morgante*, which he, very properly, classes among the four greatest romantic narrative poems of the Italians which concern Orlando and Charlemagne.[k] It is, however, certain that POLIZIANO assisted PULCI, suggesting to

[h] FOLENGO, *Orlandino*, c. i. He, however, says so in joke, and concludes that we ought not to believe it.

Sia o non sia pur cotesto vero,
So ben chi crede troppo ha del leggero.

[i] Salve se se' quel poeta Luigi
Che ha di fama oggi al mondo sì gran copia ;
Il colmo è tuo, poichè nessun s'appropia.

[k] Sic ergo quicumque volunt preferre Rinaldum
Orlando, dicam ; quod amant hi furta Rinaldi.
Ast veri auctores Orlandum proposuerunt,
Ac in venturo preponent tempore vates,
Maximè Bojardus dictusque Maria Matheus,
Plus sentimento facilis, quam carmine dives.
Surgit Alouisus Tuscus, Franciscus et Orbus,
Magnus Ariostus, laus, gloria, palma Ferrare.

MERL. COCCAJ. *Macar. ult.* And in the *Orland.* c. i. he said,

Bojardo, l'Ariosto, il Pulci, il Cieco
Autenticati sono.

him books which he was to consult in writing his poem;[l] and we are told by the poet himself that he expected that POLIZIANO 'would put a finishing hand to it,'[m] as he probably did. BELLINCIONI and ANTONIO, the poet also says, he hopes will kindly undertake to revise his work. This speaks highly of the good temper of the poet; a quality for which the *genus irritabile vatum* has seldom been distinguished, and which is never to be met with in poetasters, who think, by having a very high opinion of themselves and their works, they may counterbalance the contempt with which both are regarded by the public.

But while a grave philosopher and doctor in divinity, together with a learned scholar, were suspected of being concerned in the composition of the *Morgante Maggiore*, others imagined that this was not a serious, but a mock-heroic poem. The peculiarities of a poem which has given rise to such a contest must indeed be many, and the discussion of the point will not be uninteresting, since it is at least *unique* in the annals of literature. TIRABOSCHI, GINGUENÉ, and CORNIANI, have of late laughed at those who considered it a serious poem; and have even gone so far as to

[l] *Morg. Mag.* xxv. 115. 169.

[m] Ibid. xxviii. 145. The BELLINCIONI, mentioned in st. 143, was BERNARDO BELLINCIONI, and the ANTONIO, mentioned in st. 144, was ANTONIO ALAMANNI, both contemporaries of PULCI, and who wrote some good verses. The former was distinguished for his malice and mordacity according to TIBALDEO; yet PULCI says of him,

Che porge come amico e non pilucca.

accuse of want of *common sense* any one who should contend that the *Morgante* was not a burlesque poem. Foscolo, himself a host, in the article of the *Quarterly Review* already mentioned, and where he was the first who showed how this subject was to be critically examined, said that those who considered it a mock poem did not know any thing either of Pulci or his age, or of this kind of poetry.

That there are many comic scenes in the *Morgante* is a fact; but so there are in the tragedies of Shakespeare, so there are in Ariosto, not to speak of Homer's *Thersites*. Who would, however, say that *Hamlet* is not a tragedy, or call the *Furioso* a burlesque poem? It is not some collateral and minor parts detached from the rest which should be considered in forming a judgment on the whole. We must consider the tendency and spirit of the poem taken altogether, before we can decide fairly on it. Foscolo laid down as a general principle; 'that the comic humour of the romantic narrative poems of the Italians, arises from the contrast between the constant endeavours of the writers to adhere to the forms and subjects of the popular story-tellers, and the efforts made at the same time by the genius of these writers to render these materials interesting and sublime.'

The character of *Margutte*, and his actions, have been often appealed to as a decisive proof of Pulci's intention of writing a poem to excite laughter. This *Margutte* is a clumsy being

whom *Morgante* meets with, and who relates his history. He boasts of being an impious, impudent, vulgar, low-minded wretch, full of sins, without any kind of religion or morals, and enumerates, with a brutal self-satisfaction, his vices, which are as many as can well be imagined. He dies in a very absurd way; of laughter at seeing a monkey putting on his boots, which he was very angry at not finding where he had left them. The character of *Margutte* has not certainly anything noble and great in itself; but this does not prove that PULCI meant to write a burlesque poem; it only proves that he introduced a character which, according to the opinions now received, would be generally reckoned in bad taste. He is a low and even indecent buffoon. But where is the rule fixed and constant, that a burlesque character renders a whole poem mock-heroic? What is low and vulgar to us, was not so, at least to the same extent, in PULCI's times, nor to his hearers, high as was their rank in that state of society. LORENZO DE' MEDICI has been accused of having had too great a relish for coarse and vulgar jokes; and the sonnets of FRANCO and PULCI, some of which are addressed to LORENZO himself, prove it to be true. To be pathetic in deploring the taste of LORENZO is to no purpose;[n] such is the fact. PULCI to please the taste of his audience,[o] introduced a

[n] GINGUENÉ, *Hist. Lit. d'Ital.* part i. ch. xxii.

[o] That the *Morgante* was recited by the poet, is evident from his, more than once, addressing *his hearers*. B. TASSO

buffoon in his poem, and was very nearly thought one himself. He disgraced himself by following the steps of his predecessors, the story-tellers, who indulged the taste of their hearers with characters even coarser than that of *Margutte*. These narrations were the only amusement at that time; and how can we expect them to be stately and soberly grave throughout? Their humour is gross; but have we a right to expect that in those days it should be refined?

It is to be observed, that all that part of the poem which concerns *Margutte* is altogether separated from the rest. It stands alone, and might be omitted without it being possible for any one to perceive the deficiency.[p] PULCI very honestly admits that *Margutte's* history is quite a new thing, not to be found in those books wherein Orlando is sung,[q] and quotes, whimsically enough, as his authority, a book which, as he asserts, went 'through the tower of Babel,' being written originally in Persian, and then translated in Arabic, and successively in Chaldaic Syriac, Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and lastly Italian.[r] It may be suspected that under the name of

says repeatedly that he recited it like a rapsodist at the table of LORENZO, and there is every reason to think that this account is correct.

[p] From c. xviii. st. 112, to c. xix. st. 156. The reader may pass over all the intermediate stanzas, and will never find the least difficulty in understanding the poem from this omission of nearly 250 stanzas.

[q] *Morg. Mag.* xix. 153. [r] Ibid. 154.

Margutte is concealed some individual, well known to PULCI's friends, and who was on bad terms with the poet and with them. *Margutte* is said to be a Greek of a very heteroclite race,[s] who once wrote verses, and was inclined to sing of Troy, and Hector, and Achilles.

The Greeks who had found an asylum in Italy in those days did not live on the best terms with the Italian literati. We do not find that PULCI had ever any controversy with any of them; but his faithful friend POLIZIANO disliked them generally, and had a serious quarrel with MICHELE MARULLO in consequence of his marrying with the daughter of BARTOLOMEO SCALA, who was loved by POLIZIANO. The discarded lover was furious against both the father and the son-in-law, and abused them under fictitious names, in the most learned Latin and in the most vulgar manner. It has also been said that POLIZIANO had a violent quarrel with DEMETRIO CALCONDILA, who, some say, was deserted by his audience when POLIZIANO began to lecture at Florence.[t] Possibly PULCI, to please

[s] . . . . nato d'una monaca Greca
E d'un Papasso in Bursia là in Turchia.
Morg. Mag. xviii. 118.

[t] This is proved not to be the fact by Mr. ROSCOE, *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, ch. vi. It is, however, true, that POLIZIANO taught the Greek language in competition with the Greeks, and boasted of it. Ibid. ch. iii. ARGIROPULO, though not hated, was disliked by POLIZIANO for his disrespect for CICERO. GIOVIO (who is not always to be trusted) says that he was, Vini et cibi æque avidus ac capax, et multo abdomine ventricosus. *Elog.* xxvii.; very much like *Margutte*.

his friend, took part with him as SANAZZARO had done with SCALA, and *Margutte* was but a nick-name. At all events from *Margutte*, a secondary character, no fair inference can be drawn with respect to the general character of the poem.

Nor are we to believe that the whole poem is intended as a mere mockery, because some queer or laughable expressions are employed in it. PULCI may have had the intention of laughing at some religious practice, or of ridiculing miracles, or of parodying some kind of prayers generally received: but this will rather prove his boldness, or his irreligion, than that he was writing a burlesque poem. It is moreover to be observed, that he may have sometimes used in good faith, compelled by the rhyme, or not having the same idea of ridicule which we have, such expressions as appear to us to be burlesque, without perceiving their tendency. GINGUENÉ quotes, as one of the most ludicrous lines of the whole poem, the last of the twelfth canto,

L'Angel di Dio vi tenga pel ciuffetto.

Nothing can certainly seem more laughable than such a phrase; and yet it can be proved that it was not so in PULCI's mind. In his *Confessione*, where he fully and *bonafide* retracts the irreligious opinions which he had before held and uttered, he addresses himself to the VIRGIN, and hopes to agree with the holy writ *by her assistance;* a thought which he expresses with the very image with which the twelfth canto of the poem ends.

S'io ho della ragion passati i segni
M' accordo colla Bibbia e col Vangelo,
Purchè tu per le chiome mi sostegni.

When PULCI tells us that ancient saints who lived in the desert were well rewarded for serving God,

Nè creder sol vivessin di locuste;
Piovea dal ciel la manna; questo è certo; I. 25.

he makes, undoubtedly, a ridiculous comparison between the stones thrown by the giants upon the convent of the reverend father who was speaking, and the manna; yet the purpose is far from being merely to make us laugh. His allusion to the *locuste* (grass-hoppers) is a direct contradiction to the Gospel,[u] which he often quoted only to doubt its words. Then he speaks of the manna so ironically, as to leave us no uncertainty about his opinions concerning it.

The *Morgante* abounds with theological questions, because the old romances, from which PULCI drew some of his stories, have many such disputes, which we have seen must have possessed considerable interest in his times, and which he represents in his own peculiar manner. TURPIN has much theology, and MERLIN in his prophecies, 'Like Frey Luys d'Escobar, answers all questions

[u] Joannes locustas et mel silvestre edebat. 'His meat was locusts.' MATTH. iii. 4. 'And he did eat locusts.' MARK, i. 6. The Greek has ἀκρίδες, which has puzzled many an interpreter. DANTE, *Purg.* xxii. 151.

Mele e locuste furon le vivande
Che nudriro 'l Battista nel deserto.

respecting this world and the next,' and in that volume as well as in PULCI 'points of natural history as well as of theology and prophecy are introduced.'[v] Most of these abstruse questions are discussed by ASTAROTTE, the fiend who carries Rinaldo from Egypt to Roncesvalle, through the air, entering at Malagigi's command into Bajardo, the horse of that Paladin.[w] No better occasion could have occurred for a good burlesque episode; and yet PULCI has not taken advantage of it. The discussion is very learned, and the character of ASTAROTTE very serious, as we shall shortly have

[v] SOUTHEY, *Pref. to* MORTE D'ARTHUR, § 10.

[w] 'The sage clerk Maymon, one of the writers of Merlin's Prophecies, was a very remarkable personage. He travelled through the air, over land and sea, upon a huge stone, having a devil in its centre like the kernel of a nut.' SOUTHEY, ibid. 'A fairy changed herself into a calf, milk white as the cream of Cork, and with eyes as mild as those of the girl I love . . . . . Larry leaped upon the back of the fairy, and she sprung from the hill-top, and bounded clear at one jump over the Shannon, flowing as it was, just ten miles from the mountain's base. It was done in a second, and when she alighted on the distant bank, kicking up her heels, she flung Larry on the soft turf. No sooner was he thus planted, than he looked her straight in the face, and scratching his head, cried out, "By my word, well done! that was not a bad leap *for a calf*."' *Fairy Legends of Ireland;* Leg. of *Knocksheogowna*. In the old poem, *La Spagna*, a fiend transforms itself into a black horse, and carries in one night Charlemagne from Spain to Paris. The good emperor, charmed with the quickness and comfort of his journey, on his arrival in the yard of his palace crossed himself out of gratitude to Heaven, upon which the devil, frightened, disappeared, unceremoniously throwing down the rider, who luckily was not hurt in his hurried descent from that infernal horse.

occasion to observe. Doubtless, if detached parts of this passage are produced, and if the peculiarities of this kind of poetry are not taken into consideration, even this may be alleged as an argument to prove that the poem was a mock-heroic effusion.

Astarotte and another fiend, on having brought to Roncesvalle Rinaldo and Ricciardetto from Egypt, foreseeing the great slaughter of Saracens which would follow, stationed themselves on a little church near the field of battle, to catch the souls of these wretches and carry them to hell, where great rejoicings were made on this account, whilst St. Peter was busy in admitting into Paradise the souls of those Christians who, falling there, acquired the honour of martyrdom. Ginguené calls this a 'bouffonerie de mauvais gout.' Whether it be in good or bad taste is another affair; but that it was not introduced as a piece of buffoonery by Pulci may be satisfactorily proved. Mercury, who was an angel, viz. a messenger, as every body knows, had among other offices that of conducting souls to hell. That angels come for righteous souls to carry them to eternal glory, whilst, on the other hand, fiends are busy in taking sinners to hell, is an opinion fully consistent with the tenets of the church of Rome. That demons and angels were each of them busy on the day of the battle of Roncesvalle, performing their respective offices, is seriously related by Turpin who saw them all at work. 'Whilst the soul of the blessed Orlando

was leaving his body, I, TURPIN, standing near the king in the valley of Charles, at the moment I was celebrating the mass of the dead, namely on the 16th day of June, fell into a trance, and, hearing the angelic choir sing aloud, I wondered what it might be. Now when they had ascended on high, behold there came after them a phalanx of terrible ones, like warriors returning from the spoil, bearing their prey. Presently I inquired of one of them what it meant, and was answered; "We are bearing the soul of Marsirius to hell, but yonder is Michael bearing the horn-winder (Orlando who had blown the horn to ask assistance) to heaven." When mass was over I told the king what I had seen.'[x]

Angels as well as saints on the one hand, and devils on the other, were not only constantly looking out for prey, but they sometimes fought against one another, or had recourse to some very cunning stratagems, whenever they happened to come into contact concerning some soul, to which both parties laid claim. Not only some of the *Fabliaux* published by LE-GRAND, but some of

x *De Vit. Car. Mag.* cap. xxv. One is induced to hesitate before admitting implicitly the evidence of the archbishop for the truth of this event, of which he speaks *de visu*, from the difficulty of understanding how he could be celebrating mass when Orlando died; it seeming certain, by his own account, that this hero fell after having fought against fifty thousand Saracens. This must have been the day's work from morning till night. But I leave this nice point to some abler commentator to settle.

the *Contes devots* also are founded on these disputes. We find in the notes to the *Fabliau du Jongleur et de Saint Pierre* that such a subject was also painted in the churches for the edification of the faithful.[y] Nothing can be so easy as to turn such passages into buffoonery, chiefly when the phrases of the poet may countenance the mockery. What can seem more ludicrous than the manner, in which the poet expresses himself, to impress upon us, how tired St. Peter must have been, of admitting into paradise, the souls of the Christians who fell in the battle of Roncesvalle? He says:

> E perchè Pietro alla porta è pur vecchio
> Credo che molto quel giorno s'affanna
>
> . . . .
>
> Sì che la barba gli sudava e il pelo. XXVI. 91.

However, the very same expressions are used on a similiar occasion in the *Ciriffo Calvaneo*, which no one hitherto has suspected of being a mock-heroic poem.

> E fecion tanto pel campo cercare
> Che ritrovorno tra le schiere il Povero,
> Che avea fatto quel dì San Pier sudare
> A metter dentro gente senz' annovero. c. v.

[y] Dans l'abbaye de S. Guilain en Hainaut on voit représenté une vieille pecheresse au lit, mourante. Le saint et le diable sont auprès d'elle pour attendre son dernier soupir et emporter son âme. Le diable, qui se connait de l'addresse dans les doigts, propose de jouer la vieille aux trois dès (a game famous in ancient romances, called *Trémerel*). Il tire, et amene trois six; mais le moine plus habile opère un miracle; il fait paraître trois sept et gagne la mourante.

DANTE, who wrote a *Comedy* which was never supposed to be a mock poem, records two instances of these contests between angels, or saints and devils, to possess themselves of a favorite soul. In the twenty-seventh canto of the *Inferno*, St. Francis, it is said, came for the soul of Guido da Montefeltro, who late in life turned a Franciscan friar, and who, according to DANTE, after he was a friar, at the instigation of pope Boniface VIII. who absolved him of the crime before it was committed, had given to that Pope the treacherous advice to promise much to his enemies to get them into his power, but then to break his word. A 'black angel' thought he had as good a right to such a soul as St. Francis, and accordingly went to claim it also. The devil carried the point, arguing it in due form. He said that no man could be well absolved unless he repented; and contended, that since one cannot repent and sin at the same moment, it was evident that Guido could not have been absolved legally by the pope. St. Francis is unable to answer this argument, and accordingly the devil carries Guido's soul to hell, where Dante happens to hear the story from the friar himself.

A son of this same Guido,[z] that is Buonconte da Montefeltro, was more lucky. He was killed at the battle of Certomondo, but had time, before dying, to repent of his sins, which from DANTE's relation, are insinuated as leaving a rather heavy

[z] See DANTE, *Purg.* v. 94. & seq.

balance against him. Not being a friar, it was not St. Francis, but an angel who came for his soul, as well as a fiend. The latter immediately discovered he had no chance, and although he complained of his loss, 'only on account of a little tear shed by the old sinner in his last moments,' he was obliged to submit, and was satisfied with causing the body to be lost, so that no one ever knew what became of it except Dante, who heard the tale from Buonconte in Purgatory.[a]

The lines respecting Guido have been ludicrously translated by VOLTAIRE; yet the two passages are not only in very good earnest, but are masterly directed against two opinions, which are held to this day by some of the followers of the church of Rome; by those who contend that the pope's power is not restrained. Guido is carried off by the devil, on the ground that the pope had not, and could not, have the power of absolving him; a power which many contend the pope has. Buonconte is carried to paradise by the angel, although he was excommunicated by the pope;[b] which is an opinion quite at variance with that which the most hot-headed catholics teach. PULCI was not the man to believe that either devils or angels were likely to come to fetch the soul of the damned or of the elect; and by ironically supposing it, he did not certainly wish to indulge a burlesque humour, but wanted to show

[a] The body of Buonconte was covered by the Archiano, as we have seen above, page 154.

[b] VILLANI, *Ist. Fior.* vii. 126.

the absurdity of it to his readers. It seems that both DANTE and PULCI, by two opposite ways, had the same end in view; that of enlightening the people, and of exposing the cunning and impostures of those who lived upon their credulity, and who made an infamous traffic of absurdities.

GINGUENÉ being quite certain that 'l'intention de PULCI fut de faire un poème comique;' considering as a fact that PULCI was 'très-savant et un homme orné de beaucoup de connoissances,' asks what is to be thought, 'de cette confusion des miracles du Christianisme avec les effets de la magie?' and finds the journey of Astaroth, 'une folie très-singulière' of which, he says, we do not know whether ARNALDO, which PULCI quotes as his authority, speaks or not.

After the jump of Larry's calf and the flight of Maymon's stone, the ride of Charlemagne, and that of Rinaldo, its legitimate offspring, must not appear so very extraordinary. Supposing PULCI to have been a very learned man, and full of knowledge, according to our notions, it is yet not so inexplicable his mixing the miracles of Christianity and magic, as it is to conciliate his plainly irreligious maxims, and his liberal and Christian principles put into the mouth of Astaroth. The learning of PULCI is any thing but demonstrated. His style shows that he was not familiar with the Latin authors; in his sonnets he ridicules those who study philosophy, and in his poem he alludes ironically to the Platonic academy, and to the schools established by LORENZO DE' MEDICI

at Florence.[c] He is never mentioned among the learned men of the age. In a letter of Ficino, in which the names are given of all the members of the Platonic academy, his does not occur.[d] He is once mentioned by Lorenzo,[e] as a man who amused himself in turning his friends into ridicule in his sonnets, and as being possessed of a nose capable of frightening horse and dog, and every thing else that saw it; but of his learning we find no mention whatever.

The passage in which Tasso asserts that Ficino was the author of that part of the *Morgante* which describes Rinaldo's journey, occurs in one of his letters to Gonzaga, which was to be communicated to a committee of some of the most learned men of the age, who sat in judgement on the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, before its publication, by the desire of the author. He therefore wrote deliberately and after due consideration; yet he affirms the fact as undoubted, without fear of contradiction. His father, one of the greatest men of his days, was intimate with the most distinguished characters, who flourished at the close of fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, who must have been informed of whatever concerned the times of Lorenzo and his friends, by persons familiar with them all. Some of the friends of Bernardo Tasso, Sanaz-

[c] *Morg. Mag.* xxv. 116 & 117. referred to before.

[d] It was published by Mr. Roscoe in his Life of Lorenzo.

[e] In the *Caccia del Falcone*, a poem for the first time published by Mr. Roscoe in the life of Lorenzo.

zaro for instance, might have known Pulci, when writing his poem, and spoken of it to B. Tasso, who must have communicated the literary anecdotes, which he collected from these unexceptionable sources, to his son. The evidence therefore of the great Tasso is to be preferred to that of any vulgar contemporary chronicler, who swelled his book with the gossip of the day, gathered in the barber's and apothecary's shops.

The difficulty how Christianity and magic could be reconciled together by Pulci, which has been first started by Ginguené, is not insurmountable. Ficino who had more religion, so far as we know, than Pulci, was accused of being a magician, and certainly wrote as if he thought there was truth in the craft,[f] for which reason he was obliged to publish an apology for his conduct. In the *Morgante*, likewise, the poet, after a serious discussion on the power of the demons, tells us candidly, that at one time he was fond of witchcraft, and that still he had some inclination towards it; although he says he regrets it, and knows he must ask pardon for it from the eternal Judge.[g] Afterwards speaking of Toledo as the city where necromancy was studied, he calls this science 'the opinions of fools.'[h] It is remarkable that he

[f] In the treatise, 'De vita cœlitus comparanda,' he has a chapter 'De astronomica diligentia in liberis procreandis,' and such other learned lucubrations.

[g] *Morg. Mag.* xxiv. 112. 113.

[h] Ibid. xxv. 259. See also ibid. 42 & 81. Toledo was celebrated as a school of necromancy. Baudris, the bro-

said so when scarcely any mathematician, or astronomer lived in Italy, (and out of Italy, the darkness of the middle ages was not yet dissipated,) who did not profess *astrology*. DOMENICO MARIA NOVARA, who was professor of astronomy at Bologna when PULCI was living, and who had the honor of instructing COPERNICUS with whom he was very intimate, was a finished astrologer, if we may believe his epitaph, where we read

> Qui responsa dabat cœli internuncius, ore
> Veridico, fati sidera sacra probans.

That avowal of PULCI in the twenty-fourth canto, concerning his former belief in magic, is made after a very strange opinion is hazarded; an opinion which has been alluded to as very extraordinary by most of the critics, who have spoken of the *Morgante*. MATTEO PALMIERI, a contemporary of PULCI and of FICINO, was honoured by the latter in one of his letters with the name of 'theological poet,' on account of an opinion of ORIGEN, which he advanced in a poem entitled, *La Città di Vita*, and which called down upon the book the wrath of the Inquisition. PALMIERI supposed that our souls were those angelic spirits, which, in the rebellion of the angels, did

ther of the fairy Oriande, and tutor of Malagigi, 'sçavoit tous les arts de magie et de nigromance, et auoit long temps estudié à Tollette.' *Hist. de Maugys d'Agrem.* See WEBER, *Met. Rom.* vol. iii. p. 329. where a story is related of one ZENO, who after having studied in Spain, became so clever that he put the devil into a bottle. Unluckily the bottle was broken or uncorked, and the devil went abroad again.

not join either God or his enemies.[i] To give them one chance more, they are sent to inhabit our bodies, leaving to them the choice between virtue and sin, after which they are for ever disposed of. The poem has never been printed, but this passage has been published, and it is here transcribed.

Quivi nei Campi Elisi fu raccolta
La legïon degli angeli infra due
Per farne prova la seconda volta;
E come in prati molte volte fue
Api vedute al tempo della state
Rìtornar presso alle vïole sue
Per infiorarsi nelle boccie amate,
Mormorando nell' opera al diletto,
Al qual dalla natura fur create;
Così gli spirti in questo luogo detto
Volando fanno pel piacente sito,
Finchè sarà da loro il corpo eletto.
Il Padre Eterno che non fu udito,
Quando da questi dimandò risposta
Della lor puritate al primo invito;
Alla seconda prova vuol sia posta
Lor libertà; ma fia con tal compagno,
Mostri la voglia che in loro è riposta.
Per questo il Padre Eterno eccelso e magno
Anime fèlle, acciò co' corpi unite
Perdita eterna facciano o guadagno.[k]

[i] DANTE, in a manner peculiarly his own, puts these wretches in the outskirts of hell, as unworthy alike of punishment and of mercy; and so despicable, that they cannot be received either into paradise or hell. It is a lofty conception, and the passage one of the most highly finished in a poem, which fully deserves the epithet which the judgment of five centuries has pronounced upon it. See *Inf.* III. 37.

[k] CORNIANI, *Sec. della Lit. Ital.* in PALMIERI.

PULCI seems to have been rather inclined to have the same notion;

> Tanto che io credo a Benedetto Dei
> Che noi siam tutti spiriti folletti.[l]

But in the *Morgante* he alters PALMIERI's opinion, and makes him say that he speaks of metempsychosis, which is not the fact.[m] Now, as if this passage were destined to cause blunders, QUADRIO, referring to it in haste, supposed that this was the same as the opinion advanced in his times in France concerning the *souls of brutes*.[n] RUBBI, the most conceited critic that ever lived, copying QUADRIO, (whom he takes care not to mention,) and adding to his blunder, says that PULCI and PALMIERI contend that demons animate the brutes, which is still farther from the real opinion of both poets.[o] FOSCOLO, trusting to the boldness with which RUBBI speaks, did not enquire into the circumstances, and he was led

[l] Son. 85. To this BENEDETTO DEI is addressed the 144th Sonnet, distinguished for its religious levity.

[m]
> Vanno per l'aer come uccel volando
> Altre specie di spiriti folletti
> Che non furon fedel nè rei già quando
> Fu stabilito il numer degli eletti;
> Non so se'l mio Palmier quì venne errando,
> Che par di corpo in corpo ancor li metti.

Morg. Mag. xxiv. 109.

[n] QUADRIO, *St. e Rag. d'ogni Poes.* Lib. ii. dist. i. c. iii. part. vii.

[o] See his *Notizie critiche* on PULCI, at the end of several modern editions of the *Morgante*.

by him into the same error. The learned devil Astarotte warns Malagigi not to trust to these *folletti* or *goblins*, as they are professed cheaters and cannot be bound by incantations. They live in the air playing tricks, some amusing themselves in philosophy, some in revealing treasures, some in telling lies concerning futurity.[p] In the first part of *Merlin* we are told, 'on the authority *of David the prophet, and of Moses*, that the greater part of the angels who rebelled under the command of Lucifer, lost, through that act, their former power and beauty, and became fiends *black*, but that some, instead of falling into *Hell-Pit*, had remained in mid-air, where they still possess the faculty of assuming any shape which may tend to promote their wicked purpose of tempting and perverting mankind.'[q] They are, in fact, fairies. 'It is said by those who ought to understand such things, that the good people, or the fairies, are some of the angels who were turned out of heaven, and who landed on their feet in this world, while the rest of their companions, who had more sins to sink them, went down further to a worse place."[r] In the life of Merlin, amongst other curious things which we learn, TALIESIN says, 'that below the moon our impurer atmosphere is inhabited by Cacodæmons, our constant and most dangerous ene-

[p] *Morg. Mag.* xxv. 160.

[q] ELLIS, *Spec. of Met. Rom.* vol. i. p. 204.

[r] *Fairy Leg. of Irel.* vol. 1. 'The Priest's Supper.'

mies."[s] It is to be observed that, in this life of Merlin, the lecture of TALIESIN is precisely on the same subjects as the conversation between Astaroth and Rinaldo in the *Morgante*, although the particulars are different. But, no doubt, PULCI took thence the idea.

Astarotte is not one of these minor powers.[t] He was one of the principal seraphin,[u] and it is with difficulty that Malagigi can obtain answers from him. He is very particular in trying to persuade Malagigi at first, and then Rinaldo, that even in hell there was courtesy and magnanimity,[v] (gentilezza). He never forgets his own

[s] ELLIS, l. c. p. 81.

[t] Uno spirto chiamato è Astarotte
Molto savio, terribil, molto fero.
Questo si sta giù nelle infernal grotte;
Non è spirto folletto, egli è più nero.
Morg. Mag. xxv. 119.

[u] Io era Serafin de' principali.
Io fui già Serafin più di te degno.
Ibid. 159, 208.

In MACHIAVELLI'S novel we are told that Belfagor was an arch-fiend, and before had been an archangel. Let any one compare the two passages, and he will see how evidently PULCI speaks in earnest and MACHIAVELLI in joke. It may be as well to mention that *Belfagorre* is a Mahometan Deity, according to PULCI, xxvii. 38. and the *Real. di Fr.* lib. i. c. lxxiii.

[v] *Morg. Mag.* xxv. 161.
. . . . Sai che si dice
Che in qualche modo (un proverbio fra voi)
Serba ogni pianta della sua radice,
Benchè sia tralignato il frutto poi. XXVI. 83.

dignity, and never condescends to ask Malagigi to free him from the bondage to which he is subjected; but he requests it as the greatest favour from Rinaldo, whose commands he offers to obey, not in person, but by sending another fiend instead.[w] In speaking of the fall of the angels he cannot avoid remembering happier days. He sighs after them, and to think of being for ever enclosed in the abyss encreases his sorrows; but he never avows it openly, and wishes not to touch upon the subject, proudly disdaining to complain of a fate which cannot be altered; and to regret, in vain, that happiness which he cannot obtain.[x]

The reader must have begun to perceive that Astaroth is a devil whose lofty character seems to have been known to Vida, Valvasone, Tasso, and Milton, as was observed before by Foscolo. Some of the principles which he advances, some of his opinions, and some of his religious tenets are also such as we find in those poets; and, what is more remarkable, some are quite at variance with others professed by Pulci, both in the sonnets and in other parts of the poem. It seems hard to Astaroth that the angels should be sent to eternal perdition, having sinned only once, and that Christians should be allowed time

[w] Ibid. 86, 87.

[x] Ma che bisogna far queste postille?
Se non si può non si debbe volere . . . .
Or non parliam più del tempo felice.
Ibid. xxv. 285, xxvi. 8.

to repent;[y] yet he finds the sentence a just one, since he who is tempted, and does not see all the gravity of sin, may be pardoned, justice being in this case softened by mercy;[z] but the angels had a free will; they sinned, fully knowing the enormity of the crime, being at liberty to follow either the good or bad path, without any one tempting them; for which reasons they do not, and cannot repent, nor can they ever be pardoned.[a] It is with these arguments that Astaroth replies to the objection of Malagigi concerning the creation of the angels, and the unaccountable distinction of some remaining in paradise, whilst others were driven to endless perdition.[b]

It would, perhaps, be considered superfluous to point out the striking similarities between MILTON and PULCI in these various passages. It may be observed, however, that no other poet has introduced in his writings the devil in a more dignified and serious manner. Among the learned discussions into which Astaroth enters, many, as we remarked before, concern natural history and geography, after the fashion of TALIESIN, who speaks at some length of these things, as well as of cosmography and natural sciences in general.[c] On their passing by

[y] *Morg. Mag.* xxv. 284.

[z] Ibid. 152, 153.

[a] Ibid. xxv. 150 to 156.

[b] Ibid. 148 and 149.

[c] ELLIS, *Specim. of Met. Rom.* i. 80 and 81. Soon after his lecture TALIESIN finds, together with Merlin, a fountain which restores to the latter his lost senses, on his drinking of its waters. There was a spring of water on a mountain

Gibraltar, the conversation between Astaroth and Rinaldo turns on the importance of the columns of Hercules; and Astaroth plainly asserts that it was an error to believe that it was impossible to pass them. He says, on the contrary, that it was possible to go much farther, and that Hercules would now be ashamed of having placed those columns.[d] This passage has not escaped the observation of GINGUENÉ and FOSCOLO, and it has been remarked that the existence of the antipodes, then either a problem, or utterly unknown to the rest of the world, may have been known at Florence, where, in PULCI's days, the astronomer TOSCANELLI was still living, who had been consulted not only from Portugal, but even by the immortal COLOMBO, on points connected with cosmography, in which science TOSCANELLI was highly distinguished among his contemporaries. It is, however, difficult to know what to think of this. PETRARCA, long before PULCI, had once admitted the existence of the antipodes, saying positively,

> E le tenebre nostre altrui fan alba;

but on another occasion he spoke of it in doubt:

> . . . . il dì nostro vola
> A gente che di là forse l'aspetta.

through which Astaroth and Rinaldo were to pass on their way to Roncesvalle, which in former days was so enchanted that whosoever drank of its waters became possessed of a spirit; but on the blessed Saint James of Gallicia passing by it, he turned the power of its waters the opposite way; so that if any one possessed tasted those waters he was forthwith cured. *Morg. Mag.* xxv. 263. 264.

[d] Ibid. 227 to 229.

To conciliate this oscillation, TASSONI said that the FORSE does not affect the *existence* of the antipodes, but their actual expectation of the sun; an explanation which we must receive as good for want of a better, without which the poet cannot well be saved from the charge of inconsistency at least.[e] PULCI, in the passage before alluded to, puts the existence of the antipodes beyond doubt; dwells long on the subject; condemns strongly the ignorance of the ancients, who were not aware of this, to him an evident, truth, and even uses the very phrase of PETRARCA, omitting the *forse*.

> Vedi che il sol di camminar s'affretta,
> Dov' io ti dico che laggiù s'aspetta. xxv. 230.

But before this, he had as plainly doubted the existence of the antipodes, as he has been positive here.

> Era già il carro di Febo tra l'onde
> Dell' oceano, e va verso altra gente,
> Se vero è pure, quando a noi s'asconde.[f]

Does it not seem that PULCI, a philosopher, is a different person from PULCI, a poet?

We have already remarked the open scepticism of PULCI in religious matters, and his bold attacks on Christianity. Of that scepticism addi-

[e] PETRARCA, *Sestina*,

> A qualunque animale alberga in terra.

And *Canzone*,

> Nella stagion che'l ciel rapido inchina.

with the *Considerazioni* of TASSONI.

[f] *Morg. Mag.* xxii. 2.

tional evidence is to be found in the answer of Marsilio to the speech of Gano, who proposed to him (but only to impose on the public) a change of religion. Marsilio tells Gano a story to the following effect. 'There is near Saragossa a large grotto with a narrow entrance, where there are six columns, of gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, and lead respectively, representing the six faiths, guarded by spirits differently dressed. The souls, before entering the world, must make a choice of their faith, and are sent to that grotto, where the spirits are all crowding and pressing round them, each endeavouring to make the soul embrace its own pillar. The soul, simple, but yet having a free will, makes the choice of a column; whichever it embraces is the type of its future religion. Happy the one who chooses the pillar of gold.'[g] What *the six faiths* are, it is not easy to guess. They are, however, clearly, not all good, nor are they equally bad; but which is the faith represented by the pillar of gold, the poet does not say, and the drift of his argument seems to be, that we cannot know it here; and, in fact, that every one supposes that his soul embraced the golden column in coming into this world.

Now, if we examine the principles professed by Astaroth, we find them to be quite different. Speaking of the antipodes, Rinaldo asks Astaroth whether the inhabitants of those countries will be

[g] *Morg. Mag.* xxv. 42 to 46.

saved? This is a question which Astaroth answers directly, saying, that our Redeemer suffered for us all; that he, who observes rightly his religion, and with good intention, will be among the elect; that it is those who wilfully shut their eyes to truth that will be punished; but that any religion is better than no religion at all, being the distinguishing mark between men and brutes. It is, however, only the Christian religion which is the good one; but, perhaps, the day will come when all men will adore the TRUTH, and all will find mercy.[h] Before dismissing the subject, Astaroth thinks it well to explain an assertion of his to *Malagigi*, respecting the unity of God, where he said,

> Colui che tutto fè, sa il tutto solo;
> E non sa ogni cosa il suo figliuolo. xxv. 136.

He tried to explain it to Malagigi himself, and gave an idea of the Almighty, dedicating a whole stanza to it.[i] And after having appealed to the

[h] Forse che il vero dopo lungo errore
Adorerete tutti di concordia
E troverete ognun misericordia.

See the whole passage, xxv. 232 to 244.

[i] Un motor donde ogni moto deriva;
Un ordin donde ogni ordin sia construtto;
Una causa a tutte primitiva;
Un poter donde ogni poter vien tutto;
Un foco donde ogni splendor s'avviva;
Un principio onde ogni principio è indutto;
Un saper donde ogni saper è dato;
Un bene donde ogni bene è causato.
Quest' è quel padre e quel monarca antico
Che ha fatto tutto e può tutto sapere. xxv. 143.

Bible to explain his meaning,[k] he says that what he said to Malagigi was respecting the human nature only of our Saviour.[l] These maxims clash with the others openly avowed by PULCI. The quotation of ORIGEN, ST. GREGORY, and DIONISIUS,[m] which suppose a learning, which we cannot give PULCI credit for, and, above all, the earnest appeal to the Bible, and the belief in miracles in this passage, both sneeringly ridiculed and denied by PULCI in his sonnets, will, perhaps, strengthen TASSO's assertion that FICINO, or some person of a more religious mind, and of greater learning than PULCI, has had something to do with this part of the poem. It does not seem to have been actually written by another person, but it does appear that hints and suggestions were given to the poet. All must, however, confess that this is any thing but a burlesque discussion, or carried on in a jocular manner. It will serve to give an idea of the unbounded toleration which, in PULCI's days, existed in Italy in matters of religion, and of the freedom with which every one indulged the liberty of saying whatever he pleased in that country in the fifteenth century.

The death of *Morgante* has also been brought forward as another proof that the poem was a burlesque one. Whence PULCI took the name of *Mor-*

[k] Disse Astarotte: tu non hai ben letto
La Bibbia, e parmi con essa poco uso:
Che interrogato del gran dì il figliuolo
Disse che il padre lo sapeva solo. xxv. 141.

[l] Ibid. 244.

[m] Ibid. 155, 159.

gante I cannot tell. Mr. SISMONDI says that there is a romance with this name written in the thirteenth century, by HUON DE VILLENEUVE, called *Morgant-le-Géant*;[n] but it is not mentioned by any other writer. *Morgante*, it is said, is an old Welch name.[o] This giant gives the title to the poem, only, it seems, because he is the *biggest* of all the heroes who are there mentioned.

In TURPIN there are allegories; and it is by means of an allegory, that PULCI explains the intervention of Orlando in a battle between a gryphon and a serpent, the latter of which was killed by Orlando, who, in his turn, was assisted by the gryphon against four lions, who had most unchivalrously attacked him.[p] Perhaps an allegory might ex-

[n] *Liter. du Midi de l'Europe*, ch. vii. There is an old translation in French prose of PULCI's poem, with the title of *Morgant-le-Géant*, and perhaps it may have been mistaken for an old romance from which the poem was supposed to be drawn.

[o] DAVIES, *Mythol. and Rites of the British Druids*, p. 442.

[p] *Morg. Mag.* xxi. 109 to 116. Rinaldo had before assisted a lion against a dragon, and having killed this animal, the lion became faithfully attached to him, and followed him like a dog. See iv. 8, et seq. 'Cecy, says GINGUENÉ, paraît pris litteralment de l'un des Romans de Chrestien de Troyes. . . . Notre vieux poète s'est plu à peindre les mouvements de sensibilité du lion.

Si qu' il li comança à faire
Semblant que à lui se rendoit;
Et ses piés joins li estendoit,
Envers terre encline sa chiere (face)
S'estut (stood) sor les deux piés derriere,
Et puis si se rajenoilloit,

plain the death of Morgante, who is killed by the bite of a crab-fish. Hercules fought and conquered alone the most terrible monsters, but was obliged to call for assistance against a scorpion, which is a smaller kind of crab. The meaning of this, they say, is, that a brave man will defend himself from open force, but will be easily conquered by treachery, employed even by the weakest being, against which no human prudence can defend itself.

That PULCI was inclined to sneer; that he laughed at many of the stories which he related; that to please his audience he mixed comic incidents with the more serious ones; all this is very true; but that he wrote a poem only for the sake of laughing, that in fact the main subject of the *Morgante* is mock-heroic, this is what it is rather difficult to believe. His levity may have induced him to treat with a certain gaiety even the

Et tot sa face moilloit
De larmes, &c. *Hist. Lit. d'It.* part. ii. c. v.

The lion here sheds tears; what have we to say against Achilles's horses doing the same? The same story occurs in the *Book of Heroes*, ii. 8, 9, and 10. *Illustrat. of North. Antiq.* by WEBER, JAMIESON, and SCOTT, and it is likewise to be found in *Guy of Warwick;* ELLIS, *Specim. of Eng. Met. Rom.* ii. 44. Hence it was inserted in what is called history; and we are told that it was Geofroi la Tour, a hero of the first crusade, who delivered from a serpent a lion, which afterwards followed him like a *hare*, and drowned himself in attempting to swim after the ship in which the heartless Geofroi had embarked to return to Europe, leaving this faithful animal behind. *Magnum Chron. Belg.* ap. PISTORIUM. MICHAUD, *His. des Crois.* liv. iii.

most serious subject; to direct his attention to whatever there might be humorous in what he treated of; to find something laughable, even in the gravest event, but notwithstanding this, his gaiety can never be held to have gone so far, as to turn altogether into ridicule, what was serious and grave. To put an end to all uncertainties, let the principal subject of the poem be found out; let its principal character, the *protagonist* be examined, and then we shall decide, whatever may be said of some episodes and minor branches of the parent stock, whether the poem be heroic or mock-heroic. That *Morgante* or his life are neither the hero nor the main subject of the poem, has been admitted on all hands; nor will any one be surprised at this singularity, since this was owing to the very origin of this sort of poems, as we have already observed.

The variety of incidents which is peculiar to the romantic narrative poems, is owing to the old romances from which the subjects were taken, and in which the extraordinary want of connection has been accounted for in a satisfactory manner. This peculiarity wonderfully suited the purpose of the story-teller, who entertained the people with his poetical effusions, or rather, as was often the case, translations of the romances from simple prose into wretched rhymes. The story-teller wanted to allure the attention of his hearers. Causing unconnected incidents to succeed one another with rapidity, breaking them off abruptly, and entering at once into a new story, was a mode both certain

of obtaining such an end, and pointed out by the confused distribution of the prose romances. To the strolling poet and to his audience, it was perhaps indifferent to say or to know what had happened before, or what should happen afterwards, since we cannot presume, that the poet would recite or sing, without interruption, a long poem to an audience, or that this audience would regularly meet to hear the continuation of it, and meeting would recollect what had been previously said. But it is preposterous to suppose that a poet, capable of conceiving the plan of a narrative poem, which he wrote with the intention that it should outlive him and be transmitted to posterity,[q] would undertake the task without an end in view, without a main story to which all others might be attached, and without some character being prominent in this story. It is easy to laugh at the words *unity of action*, but the fact is, that without a thread with which to trace his way through the story, without some person in view with which all the events are more or less connected, it is impossible even for the reader to enjoy the perusal of a poem. The idea that Ariosto's poem is not so connected is chimerical, as we shall see in due time. Here it will be enough to observe, that a man of whom Englishmen are proud, Charles Fox, was wont to say, that the *Orlando Furioso* was the most regular and connected of all the poems he knew.

[q] *Morg. Mag.* i. 4. and 5. xxviii. 32. 129. and 141. We have seen that Pulci's poem was printed in his lifetime.

It is no small merit of PULCI that he was the first who wrote a long and complicated poem, which, diversified as it is by many incidents, has, however, a principal subject, and a principal character, on which all other parts and personages depend, without which the poem could not subsist, and which, by itself alone forms an uninterrupted narration. This hero and this subject are GANO AND HIS TREACHERY, which brings on the defeat of Roncesvalle. It would be idle to discuss whether this be or be not a proper subject for an epic poem. Since a traitor is often the *protagonist* of a tragedy, there is not any reason why he may not be that of a narrative poem. The subject is grand and interesting, when connected with the circumstances depending on this treachery. Achilles' wrath and Agamemnon's haughty despotism cause the almost total ruin of the Greeks. Patroclus being slain, Achilles kills Hector, which implies that Troy shall soon be taken. The treachery of Gano and the *bonhommie* of Charlemagne bring on the almost utter ruin of the Christians at Roncesvalle. Orlando being killed, not without an immense slaughter of the enemy, the treachery of Gano and Marsiglio becomes palpable. With very little trouble Rinaldo and the few surviving Paladins take these two worthies and hang them; and after this we need not be any longer uneasy about the holy empire and its religion.

But to understand this still better, and to give at the same time a guide, with which the

perusal of the poem will at once be more intelligible and more interesting, whilst the truth of the above assertion will be proved undeniably; let us see how the main story of the *Morgante*, divested of all episodes, secondary matters and embellishments, proceeds.

The court of Charlemagne was prosperous and peaceful. The old Emperor reposed on his laurels, and Orlando his nephew governed in fact, when Gano, the head of the house of Maganza (a powerful family of false knights, who hated most cordially that of Chiaramonte, to which Orlando, Rinaldo and all the bravest knights belonged) began to inspire Charlemagne with distrust of Orlando. This Paladin was within hearing one day, when Gano was thus poisoning the Emperor's mind against him, and having become mad with anger, he very nearly killed them both. Being with difficulty prevented from doing this, he withdrew from court to one of his castles, whence, not liking to live in idleness, he set off in quest of adventures among the Paynims. On his way he fought three giants, who were rather troublesome to a convent. He killed two of them, and the third, MORGANTE, he converted to Christianity. The giant followed Orlando both as companion and squire, on his leaving the convent, the abbot of which the count discovered to be of the family of Chiaramonte.[r]

[r] Orlando on his way to the convent with the *neophite* Morgante, explains to him one of the principal tenets of Christianity; not to pity those who are damned. Those who are in

Whilst this was going on, Gano and the Maganzese triumphed at the imperial court, and laughed at the disgrace of the family of Chiaramonte. Rinaldo and all the honest Paladins were much vexed at Gano's triumph, when it was discovered that he had attempted to procure the

heaven, are so happy in God's justice, and agree so fully in his sentence that they would not be happy, if they were to feel compassion for their own parents, if they be lost for ever. *Morg. Mag.* i. 51. 52. This is the principle proclaimed by DANTE, *Inf.* xx. 28., in which the reverend father LOMBARDI found nothing which could take the name of *Theologian* from DANTE. FOSCOLO in his *Disc. sul testo di D.* § 50. found it was pure and stern theology, and nothing else. In *Sir Bevis of Hampton* we read that this hero met with a giant called Ascapard.

This géaunt was mighty and strong
And full thirty foot was long.
He was bristled like a sow;
A foot he had between each brow;
His lips were great, and hung aside;
His eyen were hollow; his mouth was wide:
Lothly he was to look on than,
And liker a devil than a man.
His staff was a young oak,
Hard and heavy was his stroke.
Bevis wondred on him right
And him inquired, what he hight?
And if all the men in his cuntree
Were as mighty and great as he?
My name, he said, is Ascapard;
Sir Grassy sent me hitherward
For to bring you home again, &c.

'But this could not be accomplished without a battle . . . and the unwieldy monster became (being conquered) the page of Sir Bevis.' ELLIS, *Met. Rom.* ii. 137.

assassination of Orlando. At this, Rinaldo lost patience, drew his sword, and though he did not kill Gano, because he, as well as his partizans, took to their heels, he killed the only one who dared to shew his face. Charlemagne being angry, Rinaldo determined to leave the court, and went in search of adventures, accompanied by Ulivieri and Dudon. After sundry adventures, they joined with Orlando at the court of King Caradoro, whom they defended from King Manfredonio, both Pagan or Saracen monarchs, the latter of whom had taken into his head, that Meridiana, a beautiful daughter of this same Caradoro should marry him.[s] Dudon was taken prisoner in this war, and would have been hanged had he not been delivered by Morgante. Manfredonio is eventually beaten both as a general and as a lover; for, the Paladins and Morgante destroyed his army, and Ulivieri was beloved by Meridiana whom he married, after, however, having baptized her, and explained to her the principles of Christianity. Although, we cannot believe all that is said of Ulivieri's valour, we may, however, venture to say, that he was certainly a better warrior than doctor in divinity, judging from the arguments he uses on the present occasion.[t]

[s] In the twenty-first, twenty-second and twenty-third volumes of the *Monthly Magazine*, there is a very good analysis of the *Morgante*, and there it is said that Manfredonio is 'like the Dane mentioned by OLAUS MAGNUS.' vol. xxi. p. 513.

[t] GINGUENÉ is right in condemning PULCI, who says that Meridiana had been converted by Ulivieri,

The traitor Gano had not only sent word to Caradoro and Manfredonio, who the warriors were, hoping that those two kings would destroy them, for fear that the Paladins had bad intentions against them, (as Gano gave them to understand)[u]

E dopo a questo vennono alla cresima
Tanto che in fine e' ruppon la quaresima.
Morg. Mag. VIII. 11.

But this is only one proof more of his levity and heterodoxy. It was the old romances which opened the way to these scandalous mixtures of sacred things and gross indecencies. In one of the lays published by LE-GRAND, we read of two persons like Ulivieri and Meridiana.

. . . puis s'entrefont
Le geu porçoi assanblé sont ;
Et quant il ount fet lor gieu,
Si s'entrecommendent à Dieu.
Fabliaux et Contes, I. 351.

The awkward attempts of Ulivieri in this same place to explain the mystery of the Trinity to Meridiana are an imitation of TURPIN, who, in the eighteenth chapter of his erudite work, favours us with a copy of the arguments made use of by Orlando, to explain the same mystery to Ferraù.

[u] This, to his honor be it said, Caradoro would not do, and unfolded all the treachery to Rinaldo, and then to Orlando. The story occurs in the Spanish Ballad *Don Reynaldos de Montalvan.* Rinaldo and Orlando were *incognito* at the court of *Agolandro* a Mahometan king.

Luego les vino mensage
Que el Rey los embia a llamar,
Dixo que los caballeros
Son Reynaldos y Roldan,
Que su amigo Galalon
Lo embia a avisar.
Todos se ponen en armas
Para haverlos de matar.
El buen Rey que aquesto vido

but he thought that during their absence from France, the empire might be easily oppressed. He therefore, intrigued with a certain Erminione Saracen King of Danemark, that he should come to make war upon Charlemagne. Erminione watched an occasion to revenge himself upon the Emperor, on account of Rinaldo having killed Mambrino, Erminione's brother-in-law ; and perceived that this was the best occasion that could offer itself. He, therefore, went into France, besieged Paris, took all the remaining Paladins prisoners, and the weak old Emperor now felt the want of

Altas voces fue a dar.
A caballeros galanes
De corte tan principal
Yo no soy de parecer
Que assi hayan de tratar
Los mejores caballeros
De toda la Christiandad ;
Pues que yo les dì seguro
Yo no les puedo faltar.
Mas luego siendo de dia
Os podeis todos armar,
Y como gentiles hombres
Con ellos en campo entrar.
Yà se partia el buen Rey
Yà los Romeros se van :
O los nobles caballeros,
Reynaldos y Don Roldan,
Seades los bien venidos,
Los dos Christianos sin par.
Sabed que Don Galalon
Una carta fue à embiar
En que dan dicir por ella
Que venioses a matar,
Al noble Rey Agolandro.

Orlando and Rinaldo. Things were reduced to the last extremity, and Charlemagne was summoned to surrender at discretion. Gano not only rejoiced at this, but offered to one of the generals who was besieging Montalbano, Rinaldo's castle, which was well defended, to have it delivered up to him by treachery. The general was an honest man, and instead of accepting his offer, caused Gano to be imprisoned, sent word to Astolfo, who commanded in Montalbano how the matter stood, and asked what he should like to do with the traitor. Liofante (such was the name of Erminione's general, who was besieging Montalbano) thought the best thing which could be done, was to hang him. Astolfo would have been amazingly pleased at this conclusion, and was decidedly of Liofante's opinion; but, on consideration, Guicciardo and the other members of the house of Chiaramonte, then in Montalbano, prevailed upon him to change his mind. It was observed that the times were bad, and that, should Gano be hanged, all his followers would revolt, and cause the last ruin of Charlemagne.

Orlando, Rinaldo, Ulivieri, and Dudon determined to return to France from the East, and they took it into their heads to come through Danemark. Having one day, after a long journey, at the end of a long plain, chanced to arrive there,[v] they

[v] Così molte giornate cavalcaro
Tanto che al fin d'una lunga pianura,
Un giorno in Danismarca capitaro.
Morg. Mag. ix. 16.

met with a certain Fieramonte, the Viceroy left by Erminione his brother, who wanted Rinaldo's horse. The Paladin not feeling disposed to give it up so easily, fought him, and Fieramonte was killed. Upon which the soldiers, who accompanied him, fled away, and a certain Faburro represented to Rinaldo that Fieramonte was a detestable tyrant. He then suggested the means of taking possession of the place, (Danismarca is considered a city or fortress, not a province),[x] in which they succeeded. Faburro and all the nation turned Christians. The Paladins heard then for the first time of the danger of the empire, and determined to go to its assistance. They levied an army of Danish troops, and being reinforced by a large army of Caradoro, who owed them so much, they all set off to deliver Charlemagne from his difficulties.[y]

This was too fine an occasion for Gano. As they came accompanied by a large army, which nobody could have thought to consist of Christians, Gano gave the people to understand that Charlemagne himself was betraying them to the Pagans, and therefore he tried a bold game; to destroy

[x] This is often the case in romances. Bevis of Hampton went once by sea to Poland. 'Having arrived at the mouth of a river they saw a fine city. What city is this? asked the sailors of a fisherman. It is called Poland, he answered.' *Real. di Fr.* l. iv. c. xxii.

[y] Fabour was, according to others, the son of Sir Triamour, a vassal of the King of Persia. See ELLIS, *Spec. of Anc. Eng. Met. Rom.* ii. 61. See above, p. 45. note h.

at once Charlemagne and the Paladins by means of their own troops. But Rinaldo and Orlando began to deal such blows that they were very soon recognised. Gano was obliged to fly from Paris, but he did not lose the favour of the Emperor; quite the contrary; for, his very bold defence against those foreigners, whom he persisted in declaring he had not recognized as friends, was a new title to the Emperor's gratitude.

Malagigi having played off an absurd trick on Rinaldo and Orlando, the two Paladins challenged one another to mortal combat. Erminione who had been already obliged to give up all the Christian prisoners, and to conclude a truce for a month, having heard of the battle which was to take place between the two greatest warriors in the world, asked Charlemagne's permission to go to see it, which the Emperor granted, and received Erminione with the utmost courtesy. The battle was just beginning, and would have fatally ended, if Malagigi had not put a stop to it. Vegliantino, the horse of Orlando, then in the possession of Rinaldo, would not run against his lord, and at the same time a lion appeared with a letter from Malagigi, which he gently delivered, with one of his paws, into the right hand of Orlando, by which all the matter was satisfactorily explained, and the two cousins, laughing at their own rage, embraced one another, and became reconciled. Erminione, who had witnessed all this transaction, immediately became a Christian, ac-

knowledging that such miracles could not be operated but by the true God. Liofante was likewise baptized, and all those Saracens, who would not do the same, were allowed to return to the East; that is to Danemark.[z]

Gano in the mean time endeavoured to excite new enemies against Charlemagne. Meridiana had been left behind by Ulivieri on his departing

[z] This story, which is not unfounded as it might be suspected, clearly shows that the confusion of Saracens and Pagans arose from the romancers and chroniclers mistaking the Danes and Normans for Saracens. That King of the Danes, Godrun, whom (as we have seen, pag. 127. note i.) GEOFFRY of MONMOUTH calls Gormund King of Africa, was one of the Danish kings who, having been reduced to extremities by a Christian king, Alfred, was obliged to settle in the country as his vassal, and embraced Christianity. TURNER, *Anglo-Sax.* iv. 10. Other Danish chiefs were forced to do so in France more than once. Charles the Bald, together with Salomon King of Brittany, in 873, forced a horde of these Norman marauders either to become Christians, or to leave France, under promise never to return again. SISMONDI, *His. des Franc.* part ii. cap. x. Those who established themselves in Neustria, afterwards called Normandy, by concession of Charles the Simple, under their chief Rollo, were subjected to the same conditions. SISMONDI, part ii. ch. xii. Hence the origin of the stories of romancers, like the one of PULCI concerning Erminione; and hence the sudden conversion of Saracens and Pagans to Christianity when conquered, events which are often mentioned in romances, and in the *Morgante* particularly. See *Real. di Fr.* lib. i. cap. lii. The name Erminione often occurs in this romance. He was King of Erminia (Ibid. iv. viii.); a city somewhere in the East. I think this city a compound of *Ermonie*, *Armon*, and *Armenia*. As for mistaking a province for a city, it is but a venial error in a romance. See above, p. 37. note z; p. 130; and p. 241. note x.

from the East, but she had joined the party in Danemark, with the army sent by Caradoro to the assistance of the Paladins and of the Emperor. Gano, to do mischief, wrote tales about her to her father, relating (and such was the fact) that she had not been lawfully married to the noble Marquess with whom she lived. Caradoro sent a giant as ambassador to Charlemagne, complaining bitterly of having been deceived, and asking satisfaction for the injury. The ambassador was very rude, unruly and violent. He began his speech in the following manner, which the reader will agree with the poet in thinking very strange.

> Macon t' abbatta come traditore,
> O disleale e ingiusto Imperadore.

And then he proceeded;

> A Caradoro è stato scritto, o Carlo,
> O Carlo, o Carlo, (e crollava la testa) &c.[a]

[a] *Morg. Mag.* x. 131. 133. See also xvii. 91. In c. xv. stanz. 93, and seq. a message is delivered in about the same insolent manner by an ambassador of the *Soudan* of Babylon to Orlando, Rinaldo, and the other Paladins, then masters of Persia. The Lord of Montalbano could not endure this, and having turned to Orlando he said, that as he knew how to cure madmen, he wanted to apply a remedy to the folly of this ambassador by seeing how the fellow could jump; and without further delay he threw him out of a window, not caring for his character. This manner of speaking is very common in an ambassador of romances. Their diplomatic style, quite peculiar to themselves, is very rough. Instances may be easily found of it in the French prose romances. Garsia, a Saracen King of Spain and Lombardy, sent Sir

Morgante having lost patience, he quarrelled with the ambassador, whose name was Vegurto,

Otuel as his ambassador to Charlemagne. He began his speech thus:

> Sire king! foul mote ye fall (may evil befall you);
> Thou art about to grieve
> Mahoun, that we on believe;
> Therefore have thou maugré (be thou cursed).

Which phraseology was thought very unmannerly, and suffered with impatience by the Paladins. Sir Otuel was attacked there and then, and defended himself bravely; Charlemagne interfered, and at last it was arranged that Sir Otuel should fight with Orlando on the next morning, which was done, and the ambassador embraced Christianity. ELLIS, *Spec. of Met. Rom.* ii. 316. The Christian ambassadors likewise indulged in very gross language. Guy of Warwick addressed the Soudan as follows,

> Lord that shope both heat and cold,
> And all this world hath in hold,
> And suffered, on cross, passions fell,
> To buy man's soul out of hell,
> Give thee, Soudan, his malison,
> And all that 'lieven in Mahoun;
> God's curse have thee and thine,
> And all that 'lieve in Apolyn!

ELLIS, ibid. 42. Again:

> Doughty Duke Naymes of Bavere,
> To the Sowdan his message told,
> And said, 'God, that made heaven so clear,
> He save King Charles so bold,
> And confound Laban, and all his men
> That on Mahound believen
> And give them evil ending. Amen.'

ELLIS, ibid. 384. See also *Real. di Francia*, iv. 54. Lohier,

and although he was much taller than Morgante, he was killed by him after a desperate combat.

Rinaldo, being a very passionate person, had a dispute with Olivieri in playing at chess; and it is wonderful that they did not knock each other down with the chess-board, as we have seen the knights at the court of Charlemagne were used to do. Charlemagne was urged by Gano to hang Rinaldo, and concluded with banishing him from court. On this occasion the noble Lord of Montalbano, and the Paladin Astolfo, for want of a better employment to kill their time, betook themselves to the trade of highwaymen. By Gano's advice a tournament was held at Paris, to which Rinaldo, Astolfo and Ricciardetto went in disguise, and carried off the prize;[b] but shortly afterwards, by another treachery of Gano, Astolfo was taken prisoner, and, notwithstanding his rank and merits, would have been hanged had he not been delivered by Orlando, Rinaldo, and their people, from the hands of the executioner, who was about to hang him under the direction of Gano, and protected by the tribe of Maganza.[c]

son of Charlemagne, addresses Beuues of Aygremont, a Christian lord, to whom he was sent as messenger, in the following manner: Celuy Dieu qui crea le firmament sauf et gard le Roy Charlemagne et toute sa noble lignée, et confonde toy Duc d'Aygremont. *Les Quatre-Filz-Aymon*, chap. i.

[b] This is taken from the *Quatre-Filz-Aymon*, where the same thing is told with about the same circumstances.

[c] In the *Mambriano* this worthy knight was nearly put to death, in the same ignoble manner, for having carried away a young lady. He challenged her brother, who re-

A kind of rebellion, which would have ended in a revolution, follows this. To save his life and throne, Charlemagne pardoned the rebels as well as Astolfo, Rinaldo and their friends, and banished Gano. But this amnesty was like the

fused to fight him. The dialogue which follows is so droll, that it is worth transcribing. Afronio, the person who was about to hang him, and brother of the damsel that had been carried off, says ;

A' ladri non si vuol mai far perdono.
Gli Dei, che lungamente hanno sofferti
Da te più oltraggi, accordati si sono
Che io sia ministro del divin giudizio
Dando alle colpe tue degno supplizio.
Rispose Astolfo : Gli Dei immortali
Son ben venuti, se tu parli il vero,
A gran necessità di officïali. c. iv.

He was delivered by Orlando, as will be observed in speaking of the *Mambriano*. According to PULCI, what Astolfo complained most of, was to be condemned to die, after having slain so many Saracens *for God's sake*. He thought this very hard, and in the true spirit of a crusader, went even so far as to accuse divine justice.

E disse : o Dio ! è spenta ogni mercede :
Non è pietà nel mondo più, nè in cielo,
Pe' tuoi fedel che credon nel Vangelo.

S'io ho tre mesi assaltato alla strada
Per disperato, e pien di giusto sdegno,
Consenti tu che alle forche ne vada ?
Io ho tanto assaltato il pagan regno
E tanti per te morti colla spada,
Che di misericordia era pur degno.
Come un ladron m' impicca Carlo Mano,
E per più ingiuria il manigoldo è Gano.

Morg. Mag. xi. 80, 81.

oaths of some of the legitimate monarchs of our own day. It was all a pretence; for which, perhaps, a dispensation was already obtained beforehand from his Holiness, as some of these pious and Christian monarchs are said to have done for conscience's sake. But whatever may have been the case in this respect, the fact is that Ricciardetto, one of the rebels, and brother of Rinaldo, was treacherously taken by Gano, and being brought to Court when that Paladin was absent, Charlemagne determined to have him hanged. Orlando left Paris in disgust at the Emperor's conduct, which was highly and openly condemned by all the Paladins, in spite of which he persisted.[d]

[d] Orlando called Gano a traitor, which he was, and Charlemagne defended him; upon which Orlando, before departing, swore on a cross which he made on the earth with his sword, that if Ricciardetto were killed he would revenge the deed on the Emperor himself. He then set off for *Paynim-land*, intending never to return to France. This is about the same as in the Spanish romance of *Don Roldan*. Orlando says, speaking of the banishment of Rinaldo from court,

> Mas el falso Galalon
> Que tal os ha aconsejado
> Antes que venga mañana
> De mi recibirà el pago.

Upon which the Emperor, without any compliment, strikes him. Then,

> El bueno de Don Roldan
> Malamente se ha enojado;
> En un altar que allì havia
> Un juramento ha jurado,
> De jamas entrar en Francia
> Hasta que fuese vengado.

Rinaldo warned in time of the danger of his brother, hastened to Paris, put to flight the partisans of the Emperor as well as those of Gano, delivered Ricciardetto, and now that Orlando was absent and nobody could oppose him, going farther than before, he occupied the imperial throne, forcing the legitimate sovereign to take shelter with Gano in a castle belonging to the house of Maganza.[e]

Estas palabras diciendo
Echò lo escalaro abaxo . . . .
Yà se sale de Paris
Malamente và enojado.
Por sus jornadas contadas
En España fue llegado.

Spain was *Paynim-land* as well as Persia.

[e] Mr. GINGUENÉ, in his *Hist. Lit. d'Ital.* p. ii. c. v. ironically observes, 'that dans ce poëme héroïque, le bourreau, la corde et la potence jouent un grand role.' But this is only because PULCI has more preserved the true spirit of the old romances than others have done. Charlemagne must have carried the royal prerogative very far to keep his haughty nobility in order; and had Rinaldo really done what the romancers suppose, he would most certainly have been hanged. Borderers, like Rinaldo and his relatives, were often in risk of being hanged, and as often had a chance of being delivered by their partisans. They were sometimes taken by open force; sometimes being banished from their country, and having established themselves on the borders of it for the purpose of plunder, they were delivered up by those, with whom they had taken shelter. Of a similar iniquitous proceeding Yon, King of Bordeaux, was guilty, according to romances, who tried to betray the four sons of Aymon into the hands of the Emperor. See the romance *Les Quatre-Fils-Aymon*, ch. x. That the fact really was that Borderers were often taken and liberated from the gallows, may be seen in Sir W. SCOTT's *Minst. of the Scot. Bord.* vol. i. p. 134. Guy of Borgogne, a

Whilst these things were going on in France, Orlando had arrived *incognito* in Persia; but being

worthy knight, having been taken prisoner by a Saracen king, was about to be hanged, when he was delivered by his brother Paladins. *La Conq. du Grand Charlemagne, Roy de Fr. et d'Espagne et du Grand Fierabras*, c. xxxii. See also the romance of *Sir Ferumbras* in ELLIS'S *Specim. of Met. Rom.* ii. 393. But the original it seems of both Astolpho's and Ricciardetto's risk is to be found in the *Quatre-Fils-Aymon.* The *petit Richard* was taken, according to this story, in about the same manner as Astolfo is taken in PULCI. His danger of being hanged was so clear to the author, that he could not help exclaiming: Helas quel dommaige ce sera se Richard est pendu! Il est bien assez près de l'estre se Dieu & Maugis ne le deliurent. c. xiii. Charlemagne did, in fact, ask all the barons, one after the other, to hang him, and they all refused. Il appella l'archevesque Turpin, et luy dit, 'Archevesque, ie vous feray pape se vous voulez pendre Richard: Sire, dit l'Archevesque, qu'est ce que vous dictes? Vous sçavez bien que ie suis prebstre, et vous voulez que ie pende les gens? se ie le faisois ie perdroy ma messe.' *Les Quatre-Fils-Aymon,* c. xiv. He added that Ricciardetto was his cousin, to which Charlemagne, according to the story related in the MS. of *Renauld de Montauban* before quoted, said: 'Ainsi m'aist Dieu, dit K. (Charles) come vous le faictes plus pour votre messe que pour la parenté.' At length a certain Ripus, a Maganzese, with the consent of the barons, who knew full well that Ricciardetto would be assisted by Malagigi, undertook to put him to death. Ricciardetto, to put off the evil hour and gain time, asked for confession, which was granted by Ripus. 'Et lors fist venir ung prebstre: aucuns dient que ce fut ung evesque. (This doubt is cleared up by the MS. where it is positively said: Si luy fait venir ung evesque. The doubt is very droll, and had it occurred in PULCI, BOJARDO, or ARIOSTO, it would have been considered a joke; yet we have here the proof that it was really true, that some say that the confessor of Ricciardetto was a bishop). Adonc

discovered to be a Christian, he had been treacherously imprisoned, and was to be put to death.

Richard se commenca a confesser, et disoit dix foys plus de pechez qu'il n'avoit oncques faict en sa vie; et ce faisoit pour voir s'il auroit point de secours. Et quand Richard vit que son secours ne venoit point, il se desesperoit tout vif.' Ibid. The reason of the delay was, that Rinaldo and his brothers had fallen asleep; but Bajardo 'qui fut fayé et entendoit la parolle,' awoke him, precisely as Rondello (another famous horse) awoke Buovo d'Antona once in danger whilst sleeping. *Real. di Franc.* l. iv. c. xxviii. According to PULCI, Rinaldo once ran the risk of being murdered when sleeping, had it not been for Bajardo, who trampled against his shield to awake him. *Morg. Mag.* xviii. 97. Those, who are fond of tracing fictions to the East, will be delighted in finding that in the *Chahnamé*, a Persian poem by FERDUSI, amongst other wonderful stories, 'on doit compter la faculté surnaturelle de la parole donnée au cheval de Rustem.' This horse, so much superior to Bajardo, who understood but could not speak, was called *Bakhche*, or lightning, and once 'protegeant le sommeil de son maitre, tua un Lion qui s'étoit élancé de la forêt pour le devorer.' SIR W. JONES, *Trait. sur la Poès. Orient.* § 2. Ripus would make himself a merit of delivering Ricciardetto, but Rinaldo gave him a blow with the butt-end of his lance, killed him, dressed Ricciardetto with his armour, and 'quant Richard fut bien en point, Regnault print le cheuestre que Ripus auoit mis au col de Richard, et le mist au col de Ripus, et puis monta sur l'eschelle et le tira contremont tout mort, et le pendit au lieu de Richard, et bien xv autres de plus principaulx de sa compagnie de ceulx que Charlemagne aymoit le plus; et quant il les eut pendus il dit a Richard: frere ceulx feront la garde en lieu de vous.' Ibid. Ricciardetto going back with his brother to see the peers his friends, dressed in Ripus's attire, was nearly attacked by Ogier, who mistook him for the Maganzese; but on recognizing him, Ogier ran to embrace him, 'et lui dit tout en riant: Cousin qu' auez vous faict de Ripus le mauvais traistre? Par ma foy, dit

Terigi, his squire, was liberated from prison, and brought the sad news to Paris, where Rinaldo

Richard, il est archevesque des champs, car mon frère Regnault l'a pendu de ses mains, et si ne voulut que autre y mist la main que luy.' Ibid. Charlemagne was so angry with all the barons that he would resign the crown: 'Or vous rens la couronne: donnez-lâ a Regnault,' said he. Ch. xv.

Here the reader will have discovered the original of Astolfo's and Ricciardetto's danger and delivery, as well as of Charlemagne's dethronement, and of Rinaldo's bold attempt of seizing the crown. He will also have observed how proud Rinaldo was of hanging Ripus and his followers with his own noble hand. For romancers the office of executioner does not seem to have had any thing ignoble in itself, since, as we have seen above, Charlemagne, with his own imperial hands, cut off the head of Oldrigi his relative, and asked as a matter of course from the Paladins that they should hang Ricciardetto. It seems that the considering the executioner to be other than a detestable wretch, which appears to us a revolting idea, had some foundation in the manners of the good old times. 'Les Rois de France dans le nombre de leurs officiers domestiques en avaient un, qu'on nommait *le Roi des Ribauds.* Malgré ce nom pompeux ce n'était cependant qu' une espéce d'huissier . . . . Il présidait aux executions criminelles, et souvent executait lui-même; ce qui pourrait infirmer la rémarque de l'abbé VELLY *(Hist. de France)*, que l' office de bourreau, doit, ainsi que ce nom, son origine à un certain clerc nommé *Borel*, qui possédant en 1261 le fiêf de Bellencombre à la charge de pendre les voleurs du canton, et ne pouvant, comme Ecclesiastique, les executer lui même, fut obligé de se donner un suppléant. Quoiqu' il en soit, ce fait prouverait, ainsî que l'autre (et c'est là ce qu'il est important de remarquer) que l'emploi d'executer les criminels n'étoit point alors deshonorant. Dans un état de la maison du Roi an. 1328 on voit *le Roi des Ribauds, ou Bourreau de Toulouse.*' LE GRAND, *Fab. et Cont.* vol. ii. p. 207. Romancers, however, improved even on this. Holding that

immediately restored Charlemagne to his throne, on condition that Gano should for ever be banished from court; a condition which appeared but slight to the Emperor, who acceded to it. Rinaldo, Ulivieri, and Ricciardetto then set off to assist Orlando, and succeeded in delivering him. Orlando, when in prison, had been consoled by

God likes justice, they thought that ecclesiastics were the persons of all others most proper to administer it, and therefore hermits were by them invested with the office of executioners. An esquire of Fioravante having robbed him of his arms, arrived at a hermitage, where the hermit, having suspected that all was not right, made the thief confess his crime. 'Here I am,' said the hermit, 'to keep the country secure, and God likes justice. Then he put his hands on the esquire, disarmed him, and hanged him to a tree, not far from the hermitage.' *Real. di Franc.* lib. ii. cap. xxvi. Hence probably PULCI took the idea of Astolfo forcing some hermits to hang a number of thieves whom he had taken. The hermits would not at first perform such an office, reasoning exactly the reverse of the hermit, who hanged the esquire for robbing Fioravante, whilst Astolfo agreed with that holy man.

Dicevano i romiti: fratel nostro
Iddio non vuol che giustizia si faccia;
Pertanto quest' uffizio si fia vostro.
Diceva Astolfo: Io credo che a Dio piaccia
Più questo assai, che dire il paternostro,
Se vero è che i cattivi gli dispiaccia;
Cavate fuor le cappe, e fate presto,
E tutti gli appiccate a un capresto.

Morg. Mag. xxi. 91.

The hermits remonstrated; but Astolfo began to beat them so unmercifully, that they performed the office in so clever a manner, that, PULCI says, they seemed to have been used to it for ages. See above, p. 109, note i.

Chiariella, the daughter of the sovereign of Persia, who in fact betrayed her father to favour the Paladins.[f] In the course of events they happen

[f] This story resembles very much that of Manfredonio and Meridiana. Marcovaldo, a giant, was besieging the *Amostante* of Persia, for the purpose of obtaining possession of his daughter Chiariella whom he loved. He was killed by Orlando, who was loved by Chiariella. Orlando was imprisoned and then set free in order to fight against Rinaldo by this lady's advice, and, of course, on recognizing one another, all the Paladins become friends, take the city, kill the Amostante, and occupy his throne; all with Chiariella's consent, or rather at her instigation. True it is, that she turns Christian. The original of Chiariella, of her love for Orlando, of her sending off to Paris to warn Rinaldo of the danger in which his cousin was, and the rest, is to be found in the *Real. di Fr.* l. iii. c. vii., with trifling alterations. See also *La conqueste du Gran Charlemagne*, l. ii. c. xviii. as well as *Sir Ferumbras*, in Ellis, *Specim. of Romanc.* ii. 379. Even the smallest circumstances, however, of this adventure, were taken by Pulci from the *Reali di Francia*, in which many occurrences of the same kind are repeatedly mentioned with slight variations. This repetition of the same stories in the same volume is owing to the origin of the romances. The ballad-singers by adding to one lay part of another, caused many ballads to resemble each other; the only difference between them consisted in names. The prose-writer inserted these several versions of the same story in his book, as if they were narrations of events substantially different. The oldest Italian poets, who wrote their longer poems from these prose volumes, versified over and over again the same adventure. This has been done by Pulci more than once. The author of the *Reali di Francia*, perhaps observing the impropriety of these repetitions, tells us, when about to mention ladies who fell in love with knights that were imprisoned, and who were delivered by the fair ones, that ' quando alcun gentil Cavaliero era preso in fatto d' arme, le chiavi della prigione dov' era

to be at war with the Sultan of Babylon. Ricciardetto and Ulivieri were taken prisoners by him. Rinaldo, who fell in love with every damsel he happened to meet with,[g] grew madly enamoured of Antea, the Sultan's daughter, a fine and brave heroine, on which account he made war but sluggishly, to the great annoyance of Orlando, who was very sorry for the imprisonment of Ricciardetto and Ulivieri.[h]

Gano, banished from court, set off after Rinaldo to destroy him in some way or other, and arrived at the Sultan's residence, where he suggested immediately the means of ensnaring both Orlando and Rinaldo. He did not succeed in this, but succeeded in prevailing upon the Sultan to send Antea to besiege Montalbano, whither he accompanied her. Guicciardo and Alardo, who guarded the castle, being conquered, the lady took them prisoners and occupied it. Gano advised her to hang them both, which she was far from consenting to: on the contrary, she ordered him

messo si davan in guardia alla più bella dama di quella corte.' l. ii. c. xv. If such were the case, it is but natural to suppose these gaolers to have been often kind and merciful to their prisoners. Hence the stories of knights being delivered by their keepers, who forgot what they owed to their parents and country.

[g] Even on his way to Persia, through Spain, he loved and was beloved by Luciana, daughter of Marsiglio; a story which I omit, being an episode.

[h] Achilles . . . jam destinaverat in bellum non prodire . . . . eo quod Polyxenam valde amabat. DARET. PHRIG. *de Excid. Troj. Hist.*

to be treated with a good drubbing by four slaves, as a reward for his treachery. These slaves wanted, moreover, to be paid by him for their trouble; which is not, after all, so degrading, as is for an Austrian soldier to be obliged to kiss the rod, with which he is beaten, after the punishment is over.

Antea kept quiet possession of Montalbano, fully intending to restore it to its legitimate owner, who once had conquered her,[1] and used the victory in a very magnanimous manner. This lady could not act otherwise, she being the cause of Rinaldo's absence from his castle, when she attacked it. The fact was as follows.

When Gano perceived that Rinaldo loved Antea, he advised the Sultan to order his daughter to dispatch the Paladin to fight a tremendous giant, called the *Old Man of the Mountain.* The probability was that the Lord of Montalbano would be killed on that occasion. He went, as in duty bound, like a gallant knight, and on the express promise that the Sultan would not put to death Ulivieri and Ricciardetto in his absence. By the advice of Gano the Sultan would have broken his word, had not Antea resisted. Gano and the Sultan, to get rid of her opposition, and to do yet more and more harm to France, planned the expedition against Montalbano, during which Ulivieri and Ricciar-

[1] In the Spanish ballad, *Don Roldan*, we are informed that Rinaldo once fought and conquered a certain great Queen *Ruenca*, but he killed her.

Matò a Madama Ruenca
Reyna de tan gran estado.

detto would have been hanged, had it not been for the assistance which they received in the manner the reader will presently see.

Rinaldo had gone to the 'Old Man of the Mountain,'[k] and had conquered him. He might have killed him, which he did not do through generosity, on which account the Old Man became a Christian, and followed Rinaldo as his faithful companion. Orlando, who had been separated from Rinaldo, before the latter went on this expedition, had chanced to deliver from danger the daughter of the king of Bellamarina, and had just restored her to her father, when the Sultan wrote to this king, that if he would go on a certain day which he mentioned, he should have the pleasure of seeing two Christian knights, Ulivieri and Ricciardetto, hanged. Orlando, having read the letter, set off with Gostanzo (such was the king's name) at the head of an army, which the latter lent him out of gratitude, to assist his cousins. He arrived just in time to save them, at the very moment that Rinaldo and the Old Man of the Mountain arrived from another quarter.[1] The Sul-

[k] The Prince of the Assassins was called 'the Old Man of the Mountain'; when, where, and why he was dubbed a knight I cannot tell. In *Guy of Warwick*, one of the most distinguished knights is *Sir Amys of the Mountain*. See ELLIS, *Specim. of Met. Rom.* vol. ii.

[1] Rinaldo had been robbed of his horse Bajardo by a shepherd, whilst he was sleeping in the thief's house. The horse had been sold to the executioner, from whom Rinaldo now took it, killing the rider with a tremendous blow of his

tan was killed, and the Paladins liberated. Morgante, who had remained in France with Meridiana, who was now uneasy about Ulivieri, took her back to her father Caradoro, and then joined Orlando and the other heroes who were besieging Babylon, which the giant proved very useful in taking. It was on his way to Babylon that he met with Margutte, whose character has been already sufficiently discussed.

At the prayers of Malagigi, Gano had been set at liberty by Antea, but had been soon after taken prisoner by some giants, whom he hoped would ensnare the Paladins Orlando, Rinaldo and their cousins. On hearing this, these brave knights, who were informed of the punishment which he had inflicted on the robber of Bajardo, determined to go to his assistance. This they accomplished, after many adventures which happened to them, and not before Morgante had died. On their way they met by chance with a certain Aldinghieri, son of Gherardo, of the race of Clermont, who, having in a fair duel killed the Old Man of the Mountain, was afterwards recognised by Rinaldo and the others, as one of his kinsmen.

Proceeding on their journey, the Paladins met with one of their brethren, Dudone, who told them that Calavrione and Archilagio, brothers of the Old Man of the Mountain, were besieging Paris in order to take revenge on Charlemagne, for their

fist on his head. The shepherd was subsequently hanged by Gano. *Morg. Mag.* xx. 12.

brother's death, who, as they thought, had been killed by Rinaldo. They likewise heard that part of Calavrione's troops and a large number of Maganzese were besieging Montalbano. Gano was suspected to be the author of this new misfortune. Whilst they were on their way to France, they arrived at a place called Villa Franca, the lord of which was a certain Diliante, nephew of the Old Man of the Mountain, who was satisfied with the explanation given by Rinaldo, how his uncle came to die. Having, moreover, received some favours from the Paladins, he offers to assist them against his other two uncles, and all arrangements being made, Rinaldo goes with Ricciardetto to ask assistance from the daughter of Gostanzo, then dead (the same lady that had been delivered by Orlando), whilst the other Paladins and Gano were to proceed to France with Diliante. The traitor Ganelon, however, excites suspicions in Diliante's mind, that the Old Man had been murdered; whence a duel took place between Diliante and Aldinghieri, in which the former was killed. His soldiers determined to follow the Paladins into France,[m] and there they safely arrived, Rinaldo and Ricciardetto excepted.

Gano did not proceed to Paris with the others, but went to Montalbano, under pretence of causing those of his tribe to raise the siege, but in fact to plan some new treachery. On their arrival in Paris, the Paladins determined, with the consent of

[m] This story resembles very much that of Erminione, Fieramonte, &c. See above page 239. & seq.

the Emperor, that Aldinghieri should go to relieve Montalbano with ten thousand men. On his way thither, he was treacherously murdered by Gano and his relations, and his father, Gherardo, arrived just at the moment he was dying. He took the corpse and brought it to Paris, where it lay in state, while the father required the Emperor to punish Gano for his treachery. Calavrione, who had known Aldinghieri when a Mahometan, went into Paris to see it, and there having made peace with Charlemagne, he joined the imperial army, which laid siege to a castle, into which Gano had escaped. There, however,[n] by swearing falsely, by flattery, and by the basest conduct, Gano contrived to persuade both the foolish Charlemagne and the generous Orlando, that he killed Aldinghieri in fair battle, and in his own defence. He succeeded in obtaining his pardon, on condition that he should find Rinaldo, throw himself at his feet, and ask his pardon also, conditions which the wretch accepted and fulfilled. Luckily for himself, he found Rinaldo who was engaged in a holy enterprise; it was that of opening the passage for the pilgrims to the holy sepulchre. Rinaldo, pressed by the pilgrims and moved by their pious arguments, granted his pardon, most unwillingly however, to Gano, whom he would far

[n] In the Spanish Ballad, *El Marques de Mantua*, part. ii, we see the Marquis taking to Paris the body of Baldwin, and laying it in state, to excite compassion for his fate and obtain justice against Carloto, the Emperor's son, who had murdered him, and who was executed for the crime.

more willingly have put to death. Rinaldo conquered Fuligatto, who stopped the pilgrims, and converted him to Christianity. Having been sheltered one night by a hermit, he heard from him in obscure, but noble and inspired language, a prophecy of the fatal battle of Roncesvalle.

Gano was however the same traitor that he had been all his life. Having obtained his pardon, and being as powerful as ever, he formed a scheme by which Antea, and Marsiglio King of Spain should both attack France at the same time; the former to revenge her father's death, the latter to secure his throne, which was destined to Orlando by Charlemagne, who had before conquered Spain. Antea and Marsiglio were beaten; the heroine made peace by herself and returned home; as for Marsiglio's propositions they were entertained, and Gano was dispatched to Saragozza, as imperial minister, to treat.° He there schemes the treason

° This embassy of Gano and his treachery is recorded by TURPIN. *Vit. Car. Mag.* cap. xxii.; and is to be found in *Sir Otuel.* ELLIS, *Specim. of Met. Rom.* ii. 347. The Saracens, to betray Charlemagne more easily by showing great submission, 'miserunt ei xxx equos ornatos auro et argento gazisque Hispanicis; et LX equos vino dulcissimo et puro oneratos miserunt pugnatoribus ad potandum.' (In *Sir Otuel* it is said,

And an hundred tuns of wine
That was both good and fine).

'Et mille mulieres Saracenas formosas ad faciendum stuprum.' (This present is not mentioned in *Sir Otuel).* As some of the warriors fell victims to the temptations so offered to them, and some not, and yet were all killed, the worthy archbishop puts the following: INTERROGATIO. Hoc in loco interrogandum

of Roncesvalle. Under pretence of receiving Marsiglio's tribute, Orlando and the best Paladins, accompanied by only twenty thousand men, are led into Roncesvalle, where they are attacked, first by one hundred thousand, then by two hundred thousand, then by three hundred thousand Saracens. They defend themselves most gallantly, as was to be expected ; [p] but still they are nearly all

est, cur illos qui minime cum mulieribus non sunt fornicati, Dominus mortem incurrere permisit cum iis qui ebriati, fornicati sunt? RESPONSIO. Ideo profecto illos qui ebriati et fornicati non sunt Dominus mortem incurrere permisit, quia voluit ut ad patriam propriam amplius non redirent, ne forte in aliquibus delictis incurrerent; et etiam voluit eis pro laboribus suis coronam cœlestis Regni per passionem impendere. Illos vero qui fornicati sunt mortem permisit incurrere quia per gladii passionem voluit illorum peccata delere . . . . . licet enim sint fornicati, tamen pro Christi nomine sunt in fine perempti. Igitur . . . . non expedit habere mulieres in castris, ubi libido castranda est. To this follows an ALLEGORIA. Illi qui inebriati et fornicati sunt, significant sacerdotes et religiosos viros, contra vitia pugnantes, quibus non licet inebriari et mulieribus coinquinari; quod si fecerint, ab inimicis suis, id est a dæmonibus, lapsi et forte in aliis vitiis, malo fine interfecti et in orco capti sunt.

[p] PULCI has greatly outdone TURPIN in exaggerating the number of the Saracens. They were, according to the holy Archbishop, two bodies, one of twenty thousand and the other of thirty thousand men. The Christians destroyed the first body, but were almost all murdered by the second, who attacked them when they were tired by the first combat. On this part of the *Morgante*, GINGUENÉ, who has discovered buffooneries in every line of it, says in his *Hist. lit. d'Ital.* part ii. ch. v. 'Cela est gigantesque et déraisonable sans doute. Il y a pourtant dans ces exagérations un sentiment de l'héroïsme Français, qui serait orgueil dans un poète national,

killed. Orlando dies of fatigue, and Marsiglio loses almost all his troops. Rinaldo and Ricciardetto were carried in time by two devils, (one of which was Astaroth) to revenge the Christians, and to take prisoners, and then to put to death both Gano and Marsiglio, the latter of whom Archbishop Turpin kindly undertook to hang with his own hand; which he did to his own satisfaction, and to the great joy of those who were present.[q]

This is a rapid and imperfect sketch of the principal story of the *Morgante*, stripped of most of the episodes, and of all descriptions and embellishments. It is the course of the main subject

mais que dans un poète étranger, nous (that is the French people) pourrions regarder comme un hommage; et quant on a été témoin de ce qui ont souvent fait nos intrépides armées, on est tenté de trouver tout cela vraisemblable.' Why not say at once that this is the only credible part of the poem?

[q] We have seen whence the idea of causing barons to be employed as executioners was taken, and we have likewise remarked that Turpin once refused to perform the office with which Charlemagne wished to charge him. Possibly it may be, that the fact of an archbishop having been unceremoniously hanged at Florence, on his attempting to seize the government of Florence, when the MEDICI were attacked by the PAZZI and their friends, may have suggested to PULCI the idea of turning an archbishop into a hangman; and this was the opinion of FOSCOLO. According to TURPIN, *Vit. Car. M. et Rol.* cap. xxiii., Orlando killed Marsiglio at Roncesvalle, having had him pointed out to him by a Saracen, whose life he spared for this purpose, as the Paladin did not know the person of the Saracen king, who on that day rode on a *red* horse.

divested of all its poetical colouring. It is easy to perceive that Gano's treacheries and intrigues are the pervading spirit, the soul which animates all events. If he had not been a traitor none of the occurrences would have happened. One of his intrigues removed from the poem, what comes after it would be unintelligible; no sufficient cause would exist for the effects which follow. Gano, whether at court or expelled, in France or out of it, never ceases to scheme the ruin of Charlemagne and the Paladins, more particularly of Orlando and Rinaldo; and they in turn find themselves every where involved in difficulties, into which that traitor's intrigues alone have led them. Wherever they are, they feel Gano's persecuting hand, and we have him always before our eyes. From Gano proceed, and to him may be referred, all the events; and these events are any thing but burlesque or unimportant, if we consider them with reference to the times, in which they are said to have happened, and if we bear in mind the nature of the originals, in which they are recorded.

The character of Charlemagne is rather that of an idiot than that of a hero, and we have seen whence this arose. Admitting the sway which a traitor like Gano exercised over his mind, the character given to him by romancers is not very dignified, but it is very suitable to the end in view. He is coarse, and swears in a very indecent manner; yet he behaves better in Pulci than in the old romances, where we see him admi-

nistering corporal chastisement on his peers, as if they were his slaves.[r] His weakness leads him even to commit dishonourable actions, such as, for instance, that of insisting that Ricciardetto should be put to death; but we see him in the old romances countenancing crimes as black as this.[s] Neither PULCI, nor any of the Italian poets could so completely alter the romantic character of Charlemagne, as to render him another man; yet as the Emperor is always ready to make any sacrifice for his religion and country, and as his name is familiar to the reader as that of a great monarch, he cannot either be indifferent to us, or despicable in our eyes.

The character of Orlando is really and truly epic, and few will deny that the best Orlando has been drawn by PULCI. The Orlando of the *Morgante Maggiore* is not in love, nor violent; yet he is not a bigot nor a devotee. He fights for his country, for his religion, and for his king, cheerfully on all occasions, and never does he

[r] So when Orlando said that Ganelon was a traitor,

El Emperador con enojo
Un bofeton le havia dado.

Roman. of Don Roldan.

As for some of the expressions which are put into his mouth by old romancers, they are so gross, that even to transcribe them in the original old French would be far too indelicate.

[s] For instance, when he consents in fact, although not in words, to the murder of Beuues of Aygremont, as we read in the romance of *Maugis*, and in the *Quatre-Filz-Aymon*. This also occurs in the *Morg. Mag.* xii. 8, when the Emperor consents to the treacherous scheme of Gano for catching Rinaldo.

allow his private wrongs to interfere with his public duties. His generosity of disposition makes him less suspicious of Gano than he ought to be; and yet we see that his is the confidence of a brave man, not the blindness of a weak fool. No wrongs can shake his loyalty; and he never forgets that the Emperor is his uncle and sovereign. When Rinaldo revolts the first time against Charlemagne, his violent temper blinds him so much, that he resolves to kill both Charlemagne and Gano. The former escapes into Orlando's house, where he is concealed by Alda, his wife, with the consent of the Count, whilst Gano, who surrenders himself prisoner to him, is saved from inevitable death. The simplicity with which Pulci expresses the feelings of Orlando, when he gives directions to his wife for the safety and comfort of the Emperor, gives greater relief to the generosity of the Paladin.

Alda la bella col suo viso adorno
La notte se n' andò celatamente,
Ed ogni cosa diceva al suo sposo,
Com' ella avea l'Imperador nascoso.
  Orlando disse: fa che tu lo tenga
Celato, tanto che passi il furore;
E fa che in modo nessun non avvenga
Che nulla manchi al nostro Imperadore,
Acciò che ignun disagio non sostenga,
Ch' egli è pur vecchio, e mio padre e signore;
Così diceva; e fa che sia segreto:
Vedi se Orlando nostro era discreto!
  E gl' increscea di Carlo quanto puote,
E di Rinaldo dubitava forte,
E per pietà ne bagnava le gote,

Che non gli desse alla fine la morte,
Perch' era vecchio, e lui pur suo nipote. xi. 117.

The weak Emperor, after his *restoration*, meanly consents to the death of Ricciardetto. Orlando threatens that monarch, after having in vain endeavoured to show him the baseness of his conduct; but after all he does not proceed farther, and prefers to withdraw from court, rather than to be driven to use violence against his lord and uncle.

The character of Rinaldo does great credit to Pulci, for the art with which it is contrasted to the others, for its consistency, for its liveliness, and for its impetuosity, which render every action of that Paladin probable, and peculiarly his own. He fights bravely and cheerfully, as he courts any lady, for the mere fun of it.[t] He pardons

[t] Rinaldo would have quarrelled with any one for a damsel, and suffered no opposition. He and Orlando together once saw Celidonia, a very fine lady:

Comenzò de hablar luego
El esforzado Roldan:
O Dios, y que linda dama
En el mundo no hay su par.
Sin ofender a Doñalda
Yo la quisiera gozar.
Reynaldos con turbacion.
De lo que dixo Roldan,
Con gesto demudado
Le comenzò de hablar.
Primo, escusado os fuera
De tal suerte blasonar
Porque Celidonia es mia,
Yo la entiendo de ganar.

Don Reynaldos.

his enemy as gladly as he changes his damsel, for a new enemy and a new love; saying, very simply, and very plainly, that he cannot marry, although he can pay his court to fine women.[u] His impetuosity leads him to commit the rashest actions, but when he is cool, from the generosity of his disposition, he is ready to make the *amende honorable* for his follies. When, after his first rebellion, the Emperor was concealed, nobody knew where, Orlando speaks to him, and pretends to fear that their old sovereign was dead. Rinaldo was melted into tears at this idea, and regretting what he had done, consents immediately

[u] He once addressed the daughter of an inn-keeper, who had cured him of some wounds, in the following droll and candid manner:

Fanciulla mia piacente,
Ascolta, e intendi ben quel ch' io favello:
Io ti promessi di tor per isposa:
Questa sarebbe a me impossibil cosa,
Ch' io ho lasciato altra mogliera in Francia;
Ma vo' che Greco quì tuo sposo sia. XXI. 16.

The young damsel, rather than lose the opportunity, made a virtue of necessity, and did what many others would have done under the same circumstances: she married Greco. Fioravante too was once loved by the daughter of the inn-keeper where he lodged, but did not encourage her passion, because she was a Saracen woman and he a Christian. 'Una damigella molto bella figliuola dell' ostiero . . . . . s'innamorò di Fioravante fortemente . . . . Udendo che non tornava . . . ebbe dolore sì grande, che serrò le pugna, e in presenza del padre cadde morta.' *Real. di Fran.* ii. 32 and 33. It is a very common trick for the ladies of this romance, that of closing their fists when they are about to die.

that strict inquiries should be made after Charlemagne, that he may ask his pardon, if alive, or honour his memory suitably, if dead.

> Quando Rinaldo le parole intende
> Subitamente nel volto cambiossi;
> E di tal caso sè molto riprende,
> Dicendo: Io non pensai che così fossi:
> E nel suo cor tanta pietà s'accende,
> Che gli occhi già son lacrimosi e rossi
> E disse: . . . . . .
> Di dolor mi s'apre il petto. . . . . .
> E sempre piangerò questo peccato. . . . .
> Accusando sè misero e cattivo. XI. 127, 129, 132.

On the Emperor basely consenting to the death of Ricciardetto, Rinaldo saw that no reliance could be put on the word of such a sovereign, whom he certainly would have put to death had he not fled. He took possession of the throne, and was quietly seated on it, when the news arrived of Orlando being imprisoned in Persia. Namo had scarcely advised Rinaldo to restore the throne to Charlemagne, and to go in person to assist his cousin, than he consented, without stipulating any thing for himself, but only requesting, that for the common advantage, what had happened should be forgotten, and Gano banished. Then he set off to the assistance of Orlando.

Rinaldo has, in general, more foresight than Orlando. He knows Gano so well that he cannot be induced to place any confidence in him. He clearly sees that Ganelon will be the ruin of the empire, and whenever any misfortune happens

to the Christians, he guesses that it is to Gano that they owe it. Whether his guilt is evident, or there is even the slightest ground of suspicion, it is all the same to Rinaldo.[v] He thinks there can be no safety for the empire so long as that traitor lives. Orlando, on the contrary, although not so blind as Charlemagne to the wickedness of Gano, cannot believe him so bad, as Rinaldo justly suspects him to be. When the wretch's guilt is evident, Orlando is disposed to think him sincerely repentant of his crimes, and is ready to grant him his pardon, being too honest to imagine that a man can be so great a rogue as Gano really was. Certainly it would have been better if the advice of Rinaldo had been followed; but who will not rather sympathize with the noble confidence of Orlando, than with the suspicious and stern prudence of Rinaldo?

The valour of Orlando in the *Morgante* is admirable, not from the description of the extraordinary blows which the Paladin deals, but from his serenity of mind in the moment of danger. The conduct of Orlando at Roncesvalle is that of a hero. He sees that his death is inevitable, and that there is no resource left. The Paladins advise him to blow his horn, and to implore assistance from Charlemagne; but Orlando

[v] Rinaldo accused Gano of having induced Calavrione to invade France, and of having persuaded the Maganzese to join him, whilst Orlando thought that it was hard so to accuse him. *Morg. Mag.* xxii. 20; and it seems, in fact, that this time Gano was not guilty. Ibid. 37. See above page 259.

refuses: he conceives it would be cowardice to ask for assistance, before he has done all in his power to defend himself from the enemy.

Tutt'i baroni ad Orlando dintorno
Furno ad un tratto, ed ognun confortava
Che si dovesse sonar presto il corno.
Orlando presto in sul caval montava
E Sansonetto, e in sul monte n' andorno;
E com' e' giunse, d'intorno guardava:
E ben conobbe che Marsiglio viene
Per dar tributo di future pene.

E poi si volse verso Roncisvalle,
E pianse la sua gente dolorosa,
E disse: O trista e 'nfortunata valle!
Oggi sarai per sempre sanguinosa!
Quivi eran molti già intorno alle spalle,
E tutti consigliavano una cosa;
Dopo che pure il caso è quì trascorso
Che si chiamasse col corno soccorso.

Era salito in su questa montagna
Astolfo, Berlinghier presto ed Avino,
E riguardando ognun per la campagna
Veggendo tanto popol Saracino;
Abbi pietà della tua gente magna,
Dicevan tutti, o franco Paladino:
Va, suona il corno quanto puoi più forte
Che ogni cosa è men dura che la morte.

Rispose Orlando; se venisse adesso
Cesare e Scipio, Annibale e Marcello,
E Dario e Serse ed Alessandro appresso,
E Nabucco con tutto il suo drappello,
E vedessi la morte innanzi espresso
Con la falce affilata e col coltello;
Non sonerò perche e' mi ajuti Carlo
Che per viltà mai non volli sonarlo. XXVI. 12.

He then addresses all his warriors, and encourages them to behave, as the world has a right to expect from them; not from any hope which he can give them, but because such is their duty. 'Let us behave like Paladins, so that our body only may be extinguished.'

Però mentre di vita ancor ci avvanza,
Perchè il fin è quel che ogni cosa onora,
Ognun di Paladin mostri possanza
Acciò che il corpo solamente mora;
Ed abbiate buon cor, senza speranza:
Perch' io non so quel che si fia ancora;
E spesso ove i rimedi sono scarsi
Fu a molti salute il disperarsi.

E' m' incresce che Carlo in sua vecchiezza
Vedrà forse pur fin posto al suo regno
Di Francia bella e di sua gentilezza;
Perch' egli è stato Imperador pur degno.
Ma ciò che sale alfin vien po' in bassezza;
Tutte cose mortal vanno ad un segno
Mentre l'una sormonta e l' altra cade,
Così fia forse di Cristianitade.

La cagion perchè il corno io non sonai
È per veder quel che sa far fortuna:
Non vo' che ignun se ne vanti giammai
Ch' io lo sonassi per viltà nessuna;
Prima fien tenebrosi in cielo i rai,
Prima il sole arà lume dalla luna,
Forse a Marsiglio pria trarrò l'orgoglio;
E con questo pensier sol morir voglio.

XXVI. 30, 31, & 33.

Those tears of Orlando, who, when he sees the inevitable loss of the army at Roncesvalle, weeps at the fate of his companions, not thinking of

himself, are highly pathetic. PULCI was pleased with the idea, and presents it again when he describes Orlando, who jumps on his horse to meet the enemy. The Paladin sheds tears at seeing all his army inevitably lost, and after a chivalrous apostrophe to Roncesvalle, followed by a short prayer, he entered the battle.

E' saltò dalla terra in sull' arcione,
E disse: andianne al popol Saracino.
E pianse in sul cavallo amaramente,
Quand' e' rivide tutta la sua gente.

E disse un' altra volta: Oh dolorosa
Valle, che presto i nostri casi avversi
Faran per molti secoli famosa!
Tanto sangue convien sopra te versi!
Tu sarai ricordata in rima e in prosa;
Ma se prieghi mortal mai giusti fersi,
Vergine, i servi tuoi ti raccomando,
E non guardare al peccatore Orlando. XXVI. 40 & 41.

To the last moment he is the same brave and loyal knight, that we find him through the poem. He asks pardon for his sins, and recommends, in dying, to the Almighty his desolate wife Alda, his sovereign, and his companions in arms. His allusion to the misfortune of his lady is highly touching.

Alda la bella mia ti raccomando,
La qual presto per me fia in veste bruna;
E s' altro sposo mai torrà che Orlando
Fia maritata con miglior fortuna;
E poi che molte cose ti domando,
Signor, se vuoi che io ne chiegga ancor una,
Ricordati del tuo buon Carlo vecchio
E di questi tuoi servi in ch'io mi specchio.

XXVII. 130.

He then embraces his sword, the famous Durindana (so called, according to TURPIN, because *durum dabat ictum*), pressing the handle to his heart, and dies happily.[w]

Rinaldo delights in fighting, and is brave, yet he is not so magnanimous and heroic as Orlando. His passionate temper loses very much in comparison with the calm and serene valour of Orlando. There is an incident in the battle of Roncesvalle which does great credit to the poet, and is characteristic of the two heroes.

When the Old Man of the Mountain was killed, a son of his, called Bujaforte, withdrew into Spain to the court of Marsiglio, whom he

[w] The death of Orlando has been epically described by PULCI much better than by TURPIN. The posture in which he dies resembles that in which templars and knights are sculptured in the old sepulchres. Durindana, like most of the swords of the middle ages, is described by TURPIN, cap. xxiii. as 'Cruce aurea splendidissimum . . . . magni nominis Domini A. & Ω sculptum.' Hence it was that to swear by his sword was a religious oath for a knight. 'El rey . . . (Perion) tomo la espada que cabe si tenia, et poniendo la diestra mano en la Cruz dixo: Yo iuro en esta Cruz y espada con que la orden de cavalleria rescebi de fazer esso que vos donzella me pedis.' *Amadis da Gaula*, lib. i. Intr. prim. It was a custom of the old northern nations to swear by their swords long before religion, or at least before Christianity, had made any progress amongst them; but when Christianity was introduced, the cross on the handle was the part on which the knight swore. 'Fioravante trasse fuori la spada e giurò sopra la croce che mai torrebbe altra donna.' *Real. di Fr.* lib. iii. c. 22. When Charlemagne was living in exile among the Saracens in Spain, under the name of Mainetto, he knelt and prayed before the sword for want of a cross. *Real. di Fr.* vi. 27 & 36.

was obliged to attend at Roncesvalle. Orlando met with him, dismounted him (in consequence of which Bujaforte's helmet fell off), and then seizing him by the hair, cried out to him: 'Tell me all about this treachery, and thy name, or die.' The youth answered; 'Wait .... Bujaforte.... the Mountain .... of the Old Man;' omitting to say, in the hurry, the words, 'I am the son of.' Orlando recognised him, embraced him tenderly, and said, 'Bujaforte, thou say'st true; the Old Man . . . .' and drew him aside: 'But tell me how this is; thy father will not pardon thee, dead as he is.' Bujaforte weeping, answered that he was obliged to obey Marsiglio, his lord, who had promised to assist him; that he was an exile, forsaken by every one, and had no hopes but in Marsiglio. Then he concluded by saying that Baldovino, the son of Gano, had a peculiar dress, to be recognised by the Saracens, who had orders to spare him because of the treachery of his father. Orlando left Bujaforte, professing the same unchangeable friendship for him as for his father, and warning him to avoid Rinaldo's violent fury.[x] But the youth was

[x] Some of the verses are remarkably beautiful and affecting.

Orlando, quando intese il giovinetto,
Subito al padre suo raffigurollo;
Lasciò la chioma, e poi l'abbracciò stretto
Per tenerezza, e con l'elmo baciollo,
E disse: o Bujaforte, il vero hai detto,
Il veglio mio . . .; e da canto tirollo.

afterwards overtaken by Rinaldo, a greater friend of his father than Orlando. He began to try to explain to him also his situation. 'Those who are not with me are my enemies,' said the violent Rinaldo, without listening to him; and he killed Bujaforte, who was prevented from uttering one single word more, and from asking mercy.

The fate of Baldwin, mentioned by Bujaforte, as well as the circumstances which accompanied his death, throw also a beautiful light on the character of Orlando, and do honour to the poet. To feel more interest in this subject, it will be well to recollect that Baldwin was half-brother to Orlando, whose mother, after the death of his father Milone, had been married to Gano. Bal-

Di questo tradimento dimmi appunto
Poi che così la fortuna mi ha giunto.

Ma ben ti dico per la fede mia
Che di combatter con mie genti hai torto,
E so che il padre tuo, dovunque e' sia,
Non ti perdona questo così morto.
Bujaforte piangeva tuttavia,
Poi disse: Orlando mio, datti conforto:
Il mio signore a forza quà mi manda,
Ed obbedir convien quel che comanda.

Io son della mia patria sbandeggiato:
Marsiglio in corte sua m'ha ritenuto
E promesso rimettermi in istato:
Io vo cercando consiglio ed ajuto
Poi ch' io son da ognuno abbandonato,
E per questa cagion quà son venuto.

XXVI. 146, et seq.

dovino was strongly attached to Orlando, and was brave, generous and honest; the very reverse of his father. He did not know how it happened that no Saracen would fight against him at Roncesvalle, in spite of his rushing gallantly among the enemies, and expressed his surprise to Orlando at this extraordinary fact. The answer of Orlando, and the consequences which follow, are thus expressed by Pulci.[y]

Orlando, poi che lasciò Bujaforte
Pargli mill' anni trovar Baldovino
Che cerca pure e non trova la morte,
E ricognobbe il caval Vegliantino
Per la battaglia, e va correndo forte
Dov' era Orlando: e diceva il meschino;
Sappi che io ho fatto oggi il mio dovuto
E contra me nessun mai è venuto.

Molti pagani ho pur fatti morire,
Però quel che ciò sia pensar non posso,

[y] In the analysis of the *Morgante Maggiore* inserted, as I have remarked, in the *Monthly Magazine*, these stanzas are, upon the whole, well translated, and as the reader may like to compare them with the original, they are here transcribed.

Orlando now had left the old man's son,
And, warm in rage, sought Baldwin o'er the course,
Who call'd for death, which seem'd his path to shun;
And turn on less adventurous heads its force:
At length he saw swift Vegliantino run
Hot o'er the field (Orlando's well known horse),
And rush'd to meet his friend belov'd and cried,
'What woes, unfortunate! this head betide!

'I seek this day among the brave to die,
And many Pagans by my hand lie slain,

Se non ch' io veggo la gente fuggire.
Rispose Orlando: tu ti fai ben grosso;
Di questo fatto stu ti vuoi chiarire,
La sopravvesta ti cava di dosso:
Vedrai che Gano, come tu la cavi,
Ci ha venduti a Marsiglio per ischiavi.

Rispose Baldovin: se il padre mio
Ci ha quì condotti come traditore,
Se io posso oggi campar, pel nostro Iddio,
Con questa spada passerogli il cose.
Ma traditore, Orlando, non son io,
Ch' io t' ho seguito con perfetto amore:
Non mi potresti dir maggiore ingiuria;
Poi si stracciò la vesta con gran furia,

E disse: io tornerò nella battaglia,
Poichè tu m' hai per traditore scorto:
Io non son traditor, se Dio mi vaglia;
Non mi vedrai più oggi, se non morto;

But none against this arm their force will try,
I call, I challenge to the fight in vain!'
'False wretch,' Orlando cried, 'no more they'll fly,
Lay but that gaudy garment on the plain,
Which to thy traitor-sire Marsilius gave,
For which that traitor sold his son a slave.'

'If on this day,' th' unhappy youth replied,
'These noble souls my father has betray'd;
And if I'm curs'd to live, this hand shall guide,
Keen to his heart the parricidal blade.
But I, Orlando,' thus in tears he cried,
'Was never, never, for a traitor made,
Unless I've earn'd the name in following thee,
With firm and steadfast love o'er land and sea.

'Now to the battle I return once more,
The traitor's name I will not carry long:'
The gaudy fatal vest away he tore,
And said: 'My love for thee was firm and strong;

E in verso l' oste de' Pagan si scaglia,
Dicendo sempre: tu m' hai fatto torto.
Orlando si pentia d' aver ciò detto,
Che disperato vide il giovinetto.

. . . . . .

Orlando corse alle grida, al romore,
E trovò Baldovino il poveretto,
Ch' era già presso all' ultime sue ore,
E da due lance avea passato il petto;
E disse: or non son io più traditore:
E cadde in terra morto così detto;
Della qual cosa duolsi Orlando forte,
E pianse esser cagion della sua morte.

XXVII. 4, 5, 6, 7 & 47.

Gano is a thorough and consummate felon,

This heart no guile, this soul no treason bore;
Indeed, Orlando, thou hast done me wrong.'
Then burst away: Orlando mark'd his air
With aching heart that bled for his despair.

. . . . . .

Rous'd by appalling sounds and barbarous cries,
Orlando hasten'd to the spot, and found,
At his last gasp, where hapless Baldwin lies,
Pierc'd to the heart with no dishonest wound.
'I am no traitor now,' he feebly cries,
Then falls, a stiffen'd corpse, upon the ground;
With tears of grief, Orlando saw him die.
'Thy fate is seal'd, th' unhappy cause am I.'

This Baldovino is a different person from the son of the King of Danemark, nephew of Oger, who was murdered by Don Carloto according to the Spanish ballads. That one was a nephew of Orlando. He says so in addressing him:

Si non fuerades mi tio
Con vos me fuera a matar.

Don Calainos.

always equal to himself. No means does he scruple to use to obtain his end. He knows how to court persons according to their different tempers. He will deny boldly the most evident truths with some, with others he will pretend to gratitude, with others, again, he will boast of his religion; and sometimes he will plead his old age and change of disposition. When besieged for having murdered Aldinghieri, he spares no means to make peace before Rinaldo should return, because then, he sees, he shall have no chance of escape. He cunningly complains of the Emperor's ingratitude, and of the envy of the other courtiers. The wily Maganzese says, that he is hated because he speaks candidly and boldly; that as he is innocent, he acts unreservedly and openly, and that hence it is easy to calumniate him; that those who know the ways of crime are adepts in giving the appearance of guilt to the unsuspecting and unconstrained actions of a pure mind. He is determined, however, that nothing shall stand in the way of an arrangement. Let the messenger bear in mind that there is but one honest man at court; that is Orlando (he knew well that this would be reported to the Paladin). The worthy count, he says, is himself a proof of the weakness and suspicious character of Charlemagne. That Orlando, who is as innocent as he himself is, and full of merits, is treated in exactly the same manner by Charlemagne. He is insulted, suspected, and often expelled from court. Yet, he adds, he will wave all points of etiquette; he loves his

Emperor too well; he cannot live without him, and that he is ready to go to Charlemagne on his knees, ask pardon of him for his supposed faults, even with a rope round his neck, as a further mark of humility, and will consent never to appear at court again, if this should be his sovereign's pleasure.

A character like this would be revolting and almost intolerable, were it not for the daring schemes which the wary Gano set on foot, always with new cunning, for the ruin of Charlemagne and the Paladins. These schemes keep up the attention, and make us less disgusted with the meanness of the Maganzese chief. He turns to account the very circumstances which would make another despair of success. When the empire is invaded the second time by Antea, he reassures the Emperor, because Orlando was present, but only with a view of rendering the sovereign too confident, and, by diverting his attention from the danger, of preventing his making the necessary preparations to resist the enemy. We have seen how he boldly took advantage of the unexpected arrival of Rinaldo and Orlando with Faburro, and tried to inflict a deadly blow on the empire. When Charlemagne speaks of sending him ambassador to Spain, (where he, after all went and betrayed his country), Gano perceives that this was not relished by the other Paladins, and pleads all sorts of excuses to avoid going, suggesting at the same time that Orlando should be sent. But he well knew that Orlando was the only person that

stood in the way of Marsiglio. Had the King of Spain had him in his power as ambassador, he would have obtained by different, but more direct and effectual means, what he proposed to obtain at Roncesvalle; the death of Orlando, the most terrible of the Paladins, and to whom Charlemagne had promised the very throne on which Marsiglio was sitting, and which was tottering under him, so long as this powerful pretender to it was in existence.

His deep sense of revenge, his unremitting efforts to gratify his malignity against the Emperor, and the rest of his enemies, his cowardly coolness, so necessary however to obtain his end, are all masterly drawn. In a solemn meeting of the Paladins, Ulivieri gives him a slap on the face. Gano does not burst into a rage; he slowly directs these terrible words to Ulivieri. 'I shall not forget thee;' and then says to Charlemagne, 'thus am I treated in thy presence?' and walks off without uttering another word. He neither pardons the insult, nor revenges it, nor leaves the punishment of it to the sovereign, nor does he feel warmly the offence. He only considers it a new stimulus to exert himself to punish, and punish heavily his enemies. That blow is marked on his heart, more than on his face, and it urges him not to let his hatred fall into oblivion. It is more an *excuse* than a *motive* for revenge.

The conduct of Gano, as an ambassador bent upon betraying his master and his country, is in accordance with his life, and worthy of the poet,

who has so well drawn the hideous features of that crafty hypocrite. There is a kind of secret hanging over Gano's actions, which forebodes evil, and which cannot fail to make a strong impression even on the most careless reader. The ministers of Marsiglio perceive it, but they attempt in vain to understand him. Gano is received in solemn audience by Marsiglio, and treated with the greatest deference. In spite of the magnificent speech which he makes, Marsiglio perceives that the sentiments of Gano are not those of the ambassador. After a solemn dinner, the king and Gano take a walk in the park where they had dined; and when arrived at a solitary place, near a fountain, on the borders of which they sit down, all the courtiers disappear, and King Marsiglio, remaining alone with Gano, is determined to make him unfold his purpose. For this reason, the king enters into a long series of complaints against Charlemagne. Gano listens with his eyes cast down, but looking on the fountain to read on Marsiglio's face, whether he spoke in earnest. The king seeing Gano so attentive, takes courage and proceeds farther. He alludes to Orlando's pretensions to the Spanish throne; speaking of his death in a very sly and indirect manner, he hints at the propriety of doing away with him. Gano sighs deeply; he raises his head full of malice. 'Thou wishest Orlando's, death . . . . Let it be so; and Ulivieri's too, his brother-in-law: thou knowest he gave me a blow . . . . The difficulty is to catch him . . . .

Suppose I should prevail upon him to come as far as Roncesvalle. I do not ask money; I am not Judas: mine is not treachery: I am marked by Ulivieri, and any thing is allowable to anger.[z] . . . . Then I have been offended so many times. . . . . If I am revenged, I care neither for life nor for punishment, either in this world or in the next;' and the treachery of Roncesvalle is agreed upon. Marsiglio offers money to Gano, which he refuses. He wants blood to be spilt, but he will not sell it: he is anxious to obtain revenge; not to acquire wealth. His reward is in indulging his base disposition. Had he accepted a price for his treason, he would have sunk into the class of vulgar traitors: the harrowing interest which is created by his intense and implacable malignity, by his unbending and uncompromising sense of hatred, by his unrelenting and unforgiving disposition would be destroyed.[a]

[z] Falcone, a traitor, in the *Ciriffo Calvaneo*, reasons very much in the same style, saying,

Che licito é tradir per giusto sdegno. c. vii.

He is discovered and hanged, and he plays an important part in the poem; which is a remarkable coincidence between these two works.

[a] Hence we may measure the merit of PULCI, who departed from all traditions and romances, where it was asserted that Gano was paid for betraying his companions to Marsiglio. 'Ganalono viginti equos auro et argento et paliis prætiosis oneratos fraudolenter obtulerunt (Marsilius et Belvigandus, *Balugante*), ut pugnatores illorum manibus traderet ad interficiendum; qui concessit et pecuniam illam accepit.' TURPIN,

The phenomena which accompany the negociation of this infamous treaty, and the situation of the place where it is transacted, form the subject of a description, full of vigour and imagination. The treachery of Roncesvalle had no sooner been proposed by Gano to Marsiglio, under a carob-tree, near the fountain where they were sitting, than heaven gave signs of anger by various prodigies. Marsiglio's seat was upset, without any apparent cause: the sun was obscured, and a violent storm, accompanied by rain and hail, followed; a laurel which stood by their side was struck by a thunderbolt (in spite of all classical assertions of the impossibility of such an event), and an earthquake which shook most violently even the antipodes, carried their consternation to the highest pitch. They were so terrified, that none dared stir: they knew not what they were doing, and remained motionless looking amazed at these portents. Suddenly a fire appeared above their heads; the water of the fountain overflowed; it was red like blood and burning: it blasted all the herbs which it touched. The animals in the park began to fight with each other. Gano was just thinking that, according to tradition, it was on a carob-tree that Judas hung himself,[b]

c. xxii. In the romance, *Sir Otuel*, Ganelon receives thirty *somers* laden with gold and silver. ELLIS, *Sp. of Met. Rom.* ii. p. 348. A *somer* is a beast of burden; *somiere*, *somaro*, an ass.

[b] Of this tradition no clue perhaps now remains. Marsiglio having called together his astrologers to interpret these extraordinary events, one of them said, that as to that part

when blood oozed from it, the leaves fell off, and it withered away. A fruit fell from it on the head of the traitor, whose hair stood an end. This convulsion of nature comes on the readers as unexpectedly as it did on the traitor, and produces an awful effect. The fruit which fell on the head of Gano, (this being the only fruit which is recorded to have fallen,) the very moment when they all were speechless with fear, and Gano thinking of the tree on which the traitor Judas hanged himself, is a most well-timed incident. Any one, who is thoroughly acquainted with the Italian language, will read the whole passage with delight, and will be impressed with deeper feelings of a solemn terror than he might perchance expect in this poem. The stanza, in which the fall of the fruit is mentioned, and which produces a striking effect on the reader, is as follows :

> Era di sopra alla fonte un carubbio,
> L' arbor, si dice, ove s'impiccò Giuda;
> Questo, più che altro, mise Gano in dubbio,
> Perchè di sangue gocciolava e suda.
> Poi si seccò in un punto i rami e'l subbio,
> Sì che di foglie si spogliava e nuda,
> E cascò in capo a Ganelone un pome
> Che tutte quante gli arricciò le chiome. xxv. 77.

Pulci abounds undoubtedly in jocular inci-

which related to the carob-tree, he left to Gano to guess what it meant: which frightened Gano more than any thing else. Marsiglio, however, ought to have been more terrified by these ominous words than Gano, since it was on that very carob-tree that he was hanged by the Archbishop Turpin.

dents and episodes; yet he had powers for embellishing his poem with pathetic descriptions as well as any poet, and knew how to move the heart to tears, even better than to excite it to laughter. For, if he can be reproached of being either vulgar, or coarse, or gross, when he means to be jovial, he wants neither delicacy, nor feeling, nor elegance when he attempts to be pathetic. The power of the poet, in this respect, never appears to greater advantage than in the relation of the love of Forisena and Ulivieri.

When Rinaldo departed the first time from court, after having quarrelled with the Maganzese tribe, followed by Ulivieri and Dudon, he went into the east. Ulivieri was so fortunate as to deliver Forisena from a monster whose food she was destined to be; but he is wounded in his hand before destroying it. When he returns from the battle so wounded, she perceives that he loves her, and she returns his love; but her eyes alone tell it to him. She scarcely speaks to Ulivieri, and with great timidity, which does not escape the attention of that knight, who also notices, that in condoling with him for the wound received on her account, she speaks little, in broken accents, blushing deeply, her eyes cast down. He declares to her that nothing could have given him greater pleasure than having delivered her from the monster. But he says it in such a manner as to let her understand his love for her. She does not answer one syllable; she treasures up his words and leaves him sighing. They never speak

together again, till the moment of Ulivieri's departure from the court of the father of the lady, when his tears almost prevent the Paladin from bidding her adieu. She does not weep. She had secretly contemplated accompanying him, when she heard he was obliged to leave, and had devised many wild schemes. But when he is actually going, she follows him with her eyes from a balcony as far as she can: then suddenly throws herself down. Her father hastens to the spot where she lies dead.[c] This episode is told in very few stanzas by PULCI; but those stanzas are so poetical, the language so unassuming, the verses so flowing, the images so natural, so true, so touching, that I think they would not lose in comparison with the verses of any poet. I am fortunate in being able to embellish this *Essay* with a version of this charming passage from the pen of a distinguished lady, who, in her elegant and spirited translations of PETRARCA, has shown that peculiar talent for preserving the graces of Italian poetry in her native

[c] There is a story in the *Reali di Francia* from which this love of Forisena and that of Meridiana for Ulivieri, as well as the conversion of the latter seem to have been taken. Flegra falls in love with Riccieri, is christened by him and then becomes his wife. She then delivers him from prison, in about the same manner as Chiariella does Orlando. On hearing afterwards that he was killed, 'addolorata se n'andò alla sua camera, e prese una spada, e appoggiato il pomo in terra, per mezzo il core si pose la punta, e diede un gran grido e finì la sua vita. Al suo grido corse la madre, e cadde sopra il corpo della figlia, tramortita.' Lib. I. c. 45, 50 & 67.

language, which is so happily exemplified in the exquisite simplicity and feeling of the following stanzas.

And Forisene was in her heart aware,
That love of her was Oliver's sole care.

And because Love not willingly excuses
One who is loved, and loveth not again;
(For tyrannous were deem'd the rule he uses,
Should they who sue for pity sue in vain;
What gracious lord his faithful liege refuses?)
So when the gentle dame perceived the pain,
That well-nigh wrought to death her valiant knight,
Her melting heart began his love requite.

And from her eyes soft beamed the answering ray,
That Oliver's soul-thrilling glance returns;
Love in these gleamy lightnings loves to play,
Till but one flame two youthful bosoms burns.

Or Forisena intanto come astuta
Dell' amor d' Ulivier s'era avveduta.

E perchè amor malvolentier perdona
Ch' e' non sia alfin sempre amato chi ama,
E non saria sua legge giusta e buona,
Di non trovar merzè chi pur la chiama;
Nè giusto sire il suo servo abbandona:
Poi che s' accorse questa gentil dama,
Come per lei si moriva il Marchese,
Subito tutta del suo amor s' accese.

E cominciò con gli occhi a rimandare
Indietro a Ulivier gli ardenti dardi
Che amor sovente gli facea gettare
Acciò che solo un foco due cor ardi.

To tend his grievous wounds she comes one day,
And towards him with greeting mute she turns;
For on her lips her voiceless words are stayed,
And her bright eyes are fain to lend their aid.

When Oliver perceived that Forisene
Accosted him with shrinking timid grace,
The pains which insupportable had been
Vanished, and to far other ills gave place;
His soul is tost sweet hopes and doubts between,
And you might almost, 'mid these flutterings, trace
A dear assurance to be loved by her;
For silence is Love's best interpreter.

He might besides, as she drew near, observe
O'er all her face a deep vermilion dye,
And short—and broken—checked by cold reserve,
Her accents of condoling courtesy,

Venne a vederlo un giorno medicare
E salutol con amorosi sguardi;
Chè le parole fur ghiacciate e molle,
Ma gli occhi pronti assai come amor volle.

Quand' Ulivier sentì che Forisena
Lo salutò così timidamente,
Fu la sua prima incomportabil pena
Fuggita, che altra doglia al suo cor sente.
L'alma ha di dubbio e di speranza piena,
Ma confirmato assai par nella mente
D' esser amato dalla damigella,
Perchè chi ama assai poco favella.

Videgli ancor, poichè più a lui s' accosta,
Il viso tutto diventar vermiglio,
E brievè e rotta e fredda la proposta
Nel condolersi del crudel artiglio

For the sharp wounds he suffer'd, to preserve
Her worthless self in her extremity.—
With downcast looks, that speak of hope the while;
For this of lovers ever is the style.

And thus in lowly accents falt'ring still;—
'The Fates—despiteful destiny'—she said,
'Or, in whatever sort, high Heaven's will
'Me to a miserable death had led;
'Thou cam'st, Sir Paladin, and didst fulfill
'Heaven's high behest, from highest Heaven sped
'For my release, and 'tis thro' thee I live!
'Therefore for these thy wounds I justly grieve.'

These words within his inmost heart found place,
And on their sweetness Oliver relied,
E'en for the joy of that one moment's space
Gladly the knight before Love's shrine had died,

Dell' animal che per lei car gli costa,
E vergognosa rabbassare il ciglio;
Questo gli dette massima speranza;
Chè così degli amanti è sempre usanza.

Ella avea detto: il mio crudo destino
I fati, il cielo, e la spietata sorte,
O qual si fusse altro voler divino
M' avean condotta a sì misera morte:
Tu venisti in Levante, o Paladino,
Mandato certo dall' eterna corte
A liberarmi, e per te sono in vita;
Dunque io mi dolgo della tua ferita.

Queste parole avean passato il core
A Ulivieri, e pien sì di dolcezza,
Che mille volte ne ringrazia Amore,
Perchè conobbe la gran gentilezza;

O'ercome by gratitude for so much grace!
And prizing little all of life beside,—
Nay, holding, I had almost said, at nought—
He, bashful, thus gave utterance to his thought.

'Never, fair lady, in my earthly course,
'Have I done aught that brought so true content;
'If I have rescued thee from fate's dark force,
'Such sweetness through my heart the deed hath sent,
'As none can match from any other source:
'I know thou would'st my every pain prevent,
'But different wounds far different balms assuage,
''Twere better else I'd felt the monster's rage.'

Well knew the maiden to interpret right
These gentle words, and print them on her heart:
So in Love's subtle school each task is light!
And, sighing, to herself she said apart,

Are' voluto innanzi al suo signore
Morir, che poco più la vita prezza,
E poco men che non dissi nïente;
Pur gli rispose vergognosamente:

Io non fe' cosa mai sotto la luna
Che d'aver fatto ne sia più contento;
S' io t' ho campata di sì ria fortuna,
Tanta dolcezza nel mio cor ne sento,
Che mai più simil ne sentii alcuna:
So che t'incresce d'ogni mio tormento;
Altro duol v' è che chiama altro conforto,
Così m' avesse quella fiera morto.

Intese ben allor quelle parole
La gentil dama, e dentro al cor le scrisse,
Sì presto insegna Amor nelle sue scuole;
E fra sè stessa sospirando disse:

'Yes, thy new grief I will with mine requite,
'Nor were it better thou hadst felt Death's dart;
'Ingratitude such love shall never know,
'This breast is not of adamant, I trow.'

With sighs departed Forisena fair,
And Oliver remained afflicted more;
Nor of his gashes took he thought or care,
For anguish of the inward wound he bore.[e]

. . . .
. . . .

And weeping, lingering, sighing sad between,
'Adieu'—the knight had said to Forisene.

Di quest' altro tuo duol ancor mi duole;
Forse non era il me' che tu morissi:
Non sarò ingrata a sì fedel amante,
Ch' io non son di diaspro o d'adamante.

Partissi Forisena sospirando,
E Ulivier rimase tutto afflitto,
De la ferita sua più non curando
Chè da più crudo artiglio era traffitto.

. . . .
. . . .

E Ulivieri avea potuto appena,
Addio, piangendo, dire a Forisena.

[e] Several stanzas containing the conversion of Forisena's father and his people to Christianity, together with the reasons which obliged Ulivieri to leave the lady, which bear no direct relation to the subject of this episode, are here omitted. They occupy the remainder of the fourth canto, and the first fifteen stanzas of the fifth.

When the fair maid beheld her parting knight,
She many times to follow him designed,
With other thoughts all wild and opposite,
Nor longer could she keep her love confined.
Then to gaze after him, tho' lost to sight,
Led to her lattice by the archer blind,
The cruel urchin twang'd his fatal bow,
And on the earth behold the damsel low!

The tidings heard, her aged father sped
To raise his prostrate child,—and she was dead!

LADY DACRE.

The grief felt by the father of Forisena, however, is not so affecting as that of Gherardo, the father of Aldinghieri, on finding his son dying on the field of battle. Aldinghieri had been brought up in Paynim land, where he was born, and his father had never seen him. The reader has not forgotten that, having embraced Christianity and come into France with his cousins Orlando and Astolfo, he was sent to relieve Montalbano with

La qual veggendo partire Ulivieri
Avea più volte con seco disposto
Di seguitarlo, e fatti stran pensieri,
Nè potè più il suo amor tener nascosto:
E la condusse quel bendato arcieri,
Per veder quanto Ulivier può discosto
A un balcone, e l' arco poi disserra,
Tanto che questa si gittava a terra.

Il Padre suo che la novella sente
Corse a vederla, e giunse ch' era morta.

IV. 79. 88. v. 16. 18.

Berlinghieri and several other knights, when he was murdered by Gano and his tribe. He was lying on the ground mortally wounded, when three thousand men sallied from Montalbano, headed by his father Gherardo, by whom the vile Maganzese were put to flight. What follows, the poet must relate himself.

Poichè partiti i Maganzesi sono,
Aldinghier nostro si venia già manco,
Ed avea dato a Berlinghieri un suono,
Dicendo: io ho passato tutto il fianco:
Ajutami, fratel discreto e buono.
Gherardo dicea pur: chi è il giovin franco?
Il perchè Berlinghier con molto duolo
Rispose: è Aldinghier che è tuo figliuolo.

Gherardo, quando questo ebbe sentito,
Iscese in terra, e venne al giovinetto;
E Aldinghier che ha Berlinghieri udito,
S'inginocchiò e trassesi l' elmetto,
E sforzasi il meschin, così ferito,
D'abbracciar il suo padre poveretto;
E mille volte gli baciò la fronte
Ed ha fatto di lagrime una fonte.

Gherardo anco piangea d'affezïone:
Domandò della madre Rosaspina:
Disse Aldinghier: nella sua regïone
Lasciata l'ho tra i Saracin reina.
Sappi che m' ha ferito Ganelone;
L'anima mia al suo regno cammina.
E non potè parlar più oltre scorto,
E cadde a' piè del padre in terra morto.

. . . . . .

Gherardo tramortì sopra il suo figlio,
Come vide quell' anima partita;

E risentito, e volto intorno il ciglio,
Una cosa parea pazza e smarrita,
Un uom perduto fuor d'ogni consiglio.
XXII. 139. 140. 141. & 143.

Among the pathetic passages, one more only shall be pointed out as possessing uncommon merit; it is that which describes the sorrow and lamentations of the followers of Manfredonio, who are obliged to return to their country, leaving many of their companions in arms dead on the field of battle. The lives of these men were sacrificed by their sovereign, who after all was defeated and unable to obtain either glory or the Lady Meridiana, on whose account the battle had been fought. This also is one of those passages the simplicity of which constitutes its prominent charm.

Or chi avesse il gran pianto veduto
Che nel suo dipartir fa la sua gente,
Certo che assai gliene saria incresciuto;
Chi morto il padre lascia, e chi 'l parente;
E così morto l'ha riconosciuto,
Onde piangea di lui miseramente:
Chi'l suo fratello, e chi l'amico abbraccia,
Chi si percuote il petto, e chi la faccia.[f]

Eravi alcun che cavava l'elmetto,
Al suo figliuolo, al suo cognato o padre;

[f] Compare *Cirif. Calvan.* vi. On a similar occasion:

Quivi si senton dolorose stride;
Chi il padre, chi il figliuol ritrovato ha,
E per dolor il cuor se gli conquide:
Chi il suo fratel, chi 'l morto amico abbraccia;
E'l petto e'l volto si percuote e straccia.

Poi lo baciava con pietoso affetto,
E dicea; lasso! fra le nostre squadre
Non tornerai in Soria più: poveretto!
Che direm noi alla tua afflitta madre?
O chi sarà più quel che la conforti?
Tu ti riman cogli altri al campo morti. VIII. 3 & 4.

It is to be wished that PULCI had always followed the impulse of his own natural simplicity, and had not attempted a higher strain; for then he becomes involved, inflated, and affected. He occasionally lets fall some noble maxim, as if accidentally and without seeming to be aware of having said any thing striking; whilst at other times wishing to shine, to make an effect, he is strangely pompous and tiresome. His symmetrical repetitions particularly, which are continued for a stanza or more, are so cold and tedious as to be really intolerable on several occasions.[g] Moreover they led him to say sometimes the contrary of what he intended. The following studied correction and repetition, one of the shortest in the poem, will at once convince the reader how strangely he was led on by it.

[g] The complaints of Florinetta, afterwards delivered by Morgante and Margutte, are occasionally affecting, but their pathos is destroyed by one of those tiresome repetitions continued through four mortal stanzas. See *Morg. Mag.* c. xix. from st. 8 to st. 33. The stanzas here particularly alluded to are the 20th, 21st, 22nd, and 23rd. Another most fatiguing repetition occurs c. xvi. st. 47—49, 50, 51. See also xvii. 74 and 75; again xvii. 136. If it may be an excuse for PULCI that a greater poet than himself has been partially affected with this taste, an excuse will be found in SHAKESPEARE, third part of *Henry VI.* act ii. sc. v.

Meridiana's helmet was knocked off her head in battle.

> L'elmo gli uscì, la treccia si vedea
> Che raggia come stelle per sereno;
> Anzi pareva di Venere Iddea,
> Anzi di quella che è fatta un alloro,
> Anzi parean d'argento, anzi pur d'oro. III. 17.

Here the poet without thinking what he was saying, praises a lady for her *silver-hair*, a praise which BERNI appropriated to a famous beauty of his, remarkable for her *golden-face*.

> Chiome d'argento fine, irte, ed attorte
> Senz' arte intorno ad un bel viso d'oro.

It has been said that to PULCI, BERNI is partly indebted for his style, and certain it is, that there are very lively strokes of humour in some of PULCI's lines. The messenger of a tyrant was commanded by Astolfo to go and tell his master that he was a monster. The messenger was astonished at the knight's boldness; and in great amazement

> Venne al Signor come un gatto arrostito. XXI. 123.

This immense disparity between the surprised messenger and a roasted cat, is just like one of those similes in which BERNI excels. PULCI does not scruple in repeating some of these ludicrous lines; for instance,

> E bestemmiava il ciel devotamente

occurs x. 61. xx. 98. xxvi. 119. and perhaps even on some other occasion.

There is something harsh in PULCI's manner, owing to his abrupt transition from one idea to

another, and to his carelessness of grammatical rules. He was a poet by nature and wrote with ease, but he never cared to sacrifice syntax to meaning; he did not mind saying any thing correctly, if he were but sure that his meaning would be guessed. The rhyme very often compels him to employ expressions, words, and even lines, which frequently render the sense obscure and the passage crooked, without producing any other effect than that of destroying a fine stanza. He has no similes of any particular merit, nor does he stand eminent in description. His verses, almost invariably make sense taken singly, and convey distinct and separate ideas. Hence, he wants that richness, fulness, and smooth flow of diction, which is indispensable to an epic poet and to a noble description or comparison. Occasionally when the subject admits of a powerful sketch, which may be presented with vigour and effect by a few strokes boldly drawn, Pulci appears to a great advantage.

The manner of writing of Pulci is of itself undoubted evidence that he was not a man acquainted with the classical writers of Greece and Rome. Poliziano, who was familiar with them, wrote with such elegance, harmony, and majestic flow of verse, that, had he undertaken to write a poem like that of Pulci, Ariosto would have had a tremendous rival to conquer. Pulci being deficient in a correct taste, owing to his want of acquaintance with the classical writers, at whose school only the great poets of Italy have formed

themselves, although he possessed an elevated mind, and a powerful imagination, did not express himself in that noble manner that was suitable to either the one or the other; hence he appeared wild or farcical in his fancies, and low or common in his phrases, whilst he otherwise would have been without doubt both dignified and high-minded. His proverbs and familiar idioms have been extolled as the utmost of elegance and of correct language. But any reader of taste will perceive that the style of a poem must be very deficient indeed, when proverbs and idioms are enumerated amongst its shining qualities. One character and one passage of Pulci will illustrate this.

A certain Greco, from a very high station, had been plunged into a very low condition, but his generous mind had not sunk under the weight of the heavy calamities which had befallen him. He accompanied Rinaldo, and never spoke to him of his former rank, till at last the Paladin being informed of it, asked him why he did not speak of it before? To which Greco gave the following noble and really magnanimous answer:

> Non volli rinnovar tanto dispetto,
> Che la fortuna ingiurïosa e rea
> Non avesse di me questo diletto. xxi. 168.

Rinaldo struck with amazement at it, replied:

> Vedi che pur tu non degeneravi;
> Che non si perdon gli antichi costumi:
> E'si conosce i modi onesti e gravi
> Benchè fortuna la roba consumi;

Chè non ha questa sotto le sue chiavi,
E non gli spegne il vento questi lumi:
Per mille vie in ogni opera nostra
Dove sia gentilezza alfin si mostra.

This stanza is full of noble and dignified sentiments: it renders justice to the character of a man who was so proud of being himself, that he scorned the vanity of talking of what he had been; and who disdained, by vulgar lamentations, to pay homage to the blows of fortune, or augment her pleasure by his outward grief in relating her triumphs. Yet the beauty of the stanza is much impaired by the vulgarity of the two verses,

Chè non ha questa sotto le sue chiavi,
E non gli spegne il vento questi lumi.

Metastasio, when a boy about fourteen years old, not endowed with so powerful a fancy, nor so vigorous a mind as Pulci, wanting to express about the same idea, did not forget Horace.[h] He uttered the following three verses impromptu which enraptured his hearers:

Sa da stessa la virtù regnare,
E non innalza e non depon la scure,
Ad arbitrio dell' aura popolare.

Here the nobleness of the maxim is enhanced by

[h] Virtus repulsæ nescia sordidæ,
Intaminatis fulget honoribus:
Nec sumit aut ponit secures,
Arbitrio popularis auræ.
Od. III. 2. 17.

the dignified and poetical manner in which it is expressed.

PULCI often quotes DANTE and PETRARCA, whose opinions he refers to in many cases, and whose verses he even transcribed;[i] but he did not improve his taste, and acquire as much elegance as there was reason to expect from the perusal of these authors, particularly of the latter. The proverbs with which his poem abounds, and his familiar phrases, may be fairly taken as evidence of this assertion, as well as of the fact, that he composed his poem like an *improvvisatore*. In conclusion, any candid reader will be obliged to agree with VARCHI, that 'in PULCI is felt something of that vulgar manner of writing, which was prevalent in his days, and that his poem (VARCHI spoke of the language only) in comparison with that of ARIOSTO, is almost nothing, although his proverbs and Florentine idioms are *not altogether unpleasing*.'

Intending to prefix an account of the lives and writings of BOJARDO and ARIOSTO, to the *Orlando Innamorato* and *Furioso*, I shall say

[i] On one occasion he does it in a very whimsical manner. He accuses PETRARCA of having stolen a line from Rinaldo, the Paladin, into whose mouth he puts it.

Oh sommo amore! Oh nuova cortesia!
Vedi che forse ognun si crede ancora,
Che questo verso del Petrarca sia,
Ed è già tanto e' lo disse Rinaldo!

Morg. Mag. XXV. 283.

nothing of them in this place, the present volume being designed as an *Introduction* to the forthcoming edition of those two poems. Agreeably to strict chronological order, the inquiry into the life and writings of BOJARDO should here have been entered into; instead of which the merits of a poet, almost totally forgotten, who flourished about the times, succeeding those of PULCI and BOJARDO, must be discussed. This is FRANCESCO BELLO, better known under the name of CIECO DA FERRARA, who wrote a romantic narrative poem, in forty-five cantos, intitled *Mambriano*.

Of FRANCESCO BELLO scarcely any thing is known. He was blind, as he himself repeatedly says,[j] and appears to have lived about the close of the fifteenth century. He recited his poem at the court of Gonzaga at Mantua, but it was not printed till after his death in 1509. The editor of it, ELISEO CONOSCIUTI, himself a relative of the author, dedi-

[j] Hence he took his surname CIECO, *blind*. It is, however, evident from several passages of his poem, that he was not born so, but that he had lost his sight through some accident. It is remarkable how many great poets have existed, deprived of sight; and also how many minstrels or story-tellers laboured under this misfortune. DEMODOCUS, the oldest of them all, was blind. They say that HOMER was blind (Ομηρος). DEMODOCUS sang of the Trojan war: Are HOMER and DEMODOCUS the same person? Or may we argue from this, that the *Odyssey* is not written by the same poet, who wrote the *Iliad?* The allegation of the blindness of HOMER, VICO considers to have arisen from the blindness of the rhapsodists, hence called ομηροι, who gained their living by singing the Homeric poems in the different towns.

cated the work to the Cardinal Ippolito of Este, the same prelate to whom, five or six years later, Ariosto addressed his great poem. Conosciuti praises His Eminence for his liberality to Bello; and from this Tiraboschi infers, against Quadrio, that it does not seem that the poet was poor. Conosciuti may have known something of the poet's circumstances, and had, no doubt, very good reason for flattering a Cardinal, from whom he probably wanted to squeeze a few crowns, and who belonged to the family of the Lord of Ferrara. Bello himself, however, must have known something more than his officious relative on the subject of his own affairs; and since he tells us repeatedly that he was wretchedly poor, and that he wrote, or rather sang his poetry to make a livelihood, and for no other reason[k] we are surely bound

[k] Il fremito de' venti e'l suon dell' onde,
Ch' io sento adesso in questo nostro mare,
Han così indebolite ambo le sponde
Del legno mio, ch' io ploro il navigare;
Dall' altro canto povertà m' infonde
Tanta necessità, che 'l non mi pare
Di poter mai acquistar laude alcuna,
S' io non supero i venti e la fortuna.

Non starò dunque per soffiar de' venti,
Né per tumulto alcun che m' impedisca,
Da esercitar gli afflitti sentimenti,
Acciò che l' intelletto parturisca
L' opera sua co' suoi degni ornamenti,
E che 'l fin per disturbi non perisca;
Chè, quel mancando, mancherebbe il tutto,
Ed io ne rimarrei senza alcun frutto.

Mamb. XXVIII. 1. 2.

to believe him. True it is that this proves that the Duke of Mantua behaved shabbily to the unfortunate bard; but it is likewise certain that, had the Cardinal been generous, he would have assisted the poet wherever he was, and that BELLO would not have gone to sing at Mantua, if he had been better paid at Ferrara, his native place. The fact is, that all the praises lavished upon that swarm of nameless tyrants, who plundered Italy about the end of the fifteenth, and during the sixteenth centuries, for their protection of literature, are a most glaring perversion of truth, not to call them, as they are in many cases, wilful falsehoods on the part of historians. LORENZO DE' MEDICI, and LEO X. are splendid exceptions. But they, as well as several of the popes, were not members of any of the old reigning families of Italy. The literary history of that country has been written only by courtiers and flatterers, or by persons who blindly followed them. TIRABOSCHI discards the plain and positive assertions of BELLO, to trust an unknown flatterer of the Cardinal praising his generosity towards a man who might have died of hunger, had he not taken shelter at the court of a petty sovereign, whose great merit was that

Da un canto ho povertà che ognor mi sprona,
E che mi tol l'ardir, l'ingegno e l'arte;
Dall' altro poscia all' orecchio mi suona
Continuamente il gran furor di Marte;

. . . .

In modo che talor compongo e scrivo,
E non discerno s' io son morto o vivo. XXXVIII. 2.

of preserving the poet from starvation, because he was amused with his poetry.

The following is an analysis of the *Mambriano*, in which more of the original lines are extracted, than would have been inserted, were the poem less rare. It has been thought expedient to give the reader as many opportunities as possible, consistently with the plan adopted, of forming an opinion upon the style of the work.[1]

Mambriano,[m] King of Bithynia and son of a sister of Mambrino, who had been killed by Rinaldo, was continually urged by his mother to revenge his uncle's death. This at length he determined to do, and, after having slain an old man who predicted to him that his expedition would end ill, he sailed at the head of a powerful army to destroy Montalbano, as he had sworn to do. Being wrecked, he was thrown on an island belonging to Carandina, a fairy, who received him very kindly. They fell in love, as was to be expected; but Mambriano on being re-

[1] The edition which I have perused is that of Venice, MDXVIII. 8vo. Bindoni. It is in the king's library, and so full of errors, (as is generally the case with old editions of this sort of works) that I have been often perplexed to make sense of it. I have adopted an intelligible orthography in my quotations, and the reader will probably not be displeased at my sparing him the trouble of having to decipher the enigmatic one of the edition just mentioned.

[m] There are old French MS. romances concerning this Mambriano or *Mambrien*, preserved in several public libraries; but I have never seen any of them, nor do I think they have ever been printed.

proached in a dream with his idleness, tells Carandina, that he is determined to leave her, that he may go to fight Rinaldo, The fairy offers to fetch the Paladin, which she does; but she falls in love with him, to the great annoyance of Mambriano, who becomes more eager than ever to engage Rinaldo in a duel, which he at last accomplishes. Whilst they are fighting, about two hundred rogues, Mambriano's subjects, happen to land in the island, and, on recognising their master very roughly handled by Rinaldo, they treacherously attack the Paladin, who defends himself, and finally succeeds in putting them all to flight. They carry off Mambriano and sail in spite of him. From them the king hears that one Polindo, whom he had left his lieutenant, had usurped the crown, giving the nation to understand that their former monarch was dead; upon which the old lady, his mother, killed herself. The persons who tell him the story, are some faithful subjects who had set off to see whether they could find any tidings of their legitimate sovereign. He is very wrath at this news, but hopes to recover his kingdom, particularly with the assistance of Galeano, King of Crete, his uncle, towards whose dominions he directs his voyage.

Rinaldo is pleased at seeing the whole party gone, and thinks it is very well for him to have got rid of a rival, who was likely to interfere in his affection for Carandina, whose beauty was of the most brilliant description.

Come nel cielo ciascheduna stella
Si dice avere il suo splendor dal sole;
Così in terra ciascuna donna bella,
Dal mondo, per costei, s'onora e cole:
Come zefiro acqueta ogni procella;
Così costei con sue dolci parole
Rallegra i gentil spirti; e i pusillanimi
Fa diventar generosi e magnanimi. c. II.

He lived with her, as heroes in all ages, from Ulysses down to the Rinaldo of Tasso, lived, whenever they happened to be in secluded islands, with a young fairy their 'sweet friend.' At supper they had not minstrels, but fine damsels who sang lays to them, not of a very stern description. In one of these (which needs not to be told at length; for, to say the truth, if every story were to be repeated, the analysis would grow rather too tedious) we are informed that a wealthy youth was ordered, under pain of death, and of having his property confiscated by a tyrant, to perform within a year what was thought impossible. 'I know,' said the threatened gentleman, 'that my crime is to be rich; but I shall leave the country: I scorn to ask pardon when I know I am not guilty.' He magnanimously added;

Meglio è stare in esiglio e patir danno,
Che nella patria a pascere un tiranno. Ibid.

He however succeeded in doing what was thought impossible. The fact was, he contrived (for the reader will be curious to know what was this difficult performance) to be secretly married to

the tyrant's daughter, who was very strictly kept in a castle. The tale ending well, the damsel, who tells it to Rinaldo and to Carandina, concludes with the *philosophical* observation, that love never does harm: nor does it oppose this conclusion, says she,

> Quel che si dice dell' antica Troja:
> Benchè arsa fusse e strutta a gran furore,
> Di ciò l' odio fu causa e non l'amore. Ibid.

Mambriano having landed happily in Crete, saw all his mighty relations and allies, who were extremely civil, promising very much and doing nothing in fact for him. He therefore determined to try what he could do for himself. He succeeded in collecting an army of forty thousand men, at the head of whom he declared war against the usurper Polindo; and, having published an amnesty, the latter was immediately abandoned by almost all his army, and had recourse to the Sybarites, who lived so effeminate a life,

> Che insegnavan danzar sin ai cavalli,
> E avvezzati gli avean su per quei colli,
> Tutti in due piedi, a far certi lor balli. III.

On Polindo having vanished without any one knowing whither he had gone, the few of Mambriano's subjects who had followed the usurper, returned to their legitimate king, from whom they asked and obtained pardon; a favour which they thought fit to repay by abusing Polindo;

> E tal si forza in quel punto schernirlo,
> Che già ebbe di grazia a riverirlo. Ibid.

Polindo then reappearing at the head of the Sybarites, attacked Mambriano so furiously, that there was no chance of safety, had he not been advised by a traitor Sybarite, to have the dance of Arganora played. This was no sooner done, than all the horses of the enemy began to stand on their two hind feet and dance, throwing down their horsemen, who were thus easily slain by Mambriano's troops. Polindo was killed by a she-bear on a mountain to which he had fled, and the traitor Sybarite was made king of his country by Mambriano, but was put to death by his subjects. Mambriano now once more thought of making war on Montalbano. His old councillor, Carminiano, having in vain endeavoured to prevail upon him not to do so, faithfully determined to obey his sovereign, who made him lieutenant-governor of the kingdom, and set off with Pulicardo, Agismandro and Sinodoro, Carminiano's sons, on board a fleet, consisting of two hundred vessels, which, very soon after, the poet takes the liberty to say, were seven hundred. The reader may choose whichever of these two numbers he thinks more likely to be the true one.

Whilst Mambriano sails with a fair wind, it will be proper to relate that there was in Utica a certain king, Meonte, who, being in the habit of sacrificing yearly to Mars as gallant a knight as he could catch, wanted particularly to lay hold of Orlando for this purpose. This Paladin dreamt that his cousin, Rinaldo, was chained on a rock under the feet of a serpent; and upon Astolfo

telling him that he had dreamt exactly the same, they both depart together to deliver their relative from his uncomfortable situation. In Spain, whither they at first directed their journey, Orlando and Astolfo find Afronio, son of King Baligante, fighting with Carmenio, son of the King of Portugal, the latter having carried off Afronio's sister, who stood by praying that this strife should cease. Whilst Orlando tries to settle their disputes, Astolfo seizes the lady, and quietly trots away with her; she, thinking him a friend of her lover, is very glad to follow him. On discovering this trick, the two knights accuse Orlando of having connived at it, and attack him. He would have probably killed them both, had they not been put to flight by a horrible monster, against which Orlando alone fought, and which he slew.

Astolfo, after having left the party, begins to tell Androsilla (such is the beauty's name,) that he loves her; that he is a much handsomer man than Carmenio, &c. He speaks of his rank, and of his riches, tells her (as persons who act like Astolfo invariably do) many falsehoods, till at last she begins to think that there is some truth in his arguments, and that he might do as well as Carmenio. Unluckily, at that very moment, Afronio, Carmenio, and many of their followers arrive at the place, where Astolfo and the fickle lady are. Carmenio seizes the lady, and carries her away. She informs him of Astolfo's attack, but forgets to say that negotiations had begun for a surrender. Afronio

and a great number of his followers turn upon Astolfo so fiercely, that, spite of his incredible valour, the poor Paladin is taken prisoner, and is going to be hanged. Afronio, with his own hand, puts the halter round his neck; the worthy knight asks time to pray to the Lord before dying, which is granted, and he is just going to be executed when Orlando arrives and delivers him.[n] Orlando remonstrates with him for his rashness: Astolfo defends himself very merrily, and quotes the Bible in his own defence.

Orlando, Astolfo, and Terigi (the squire of Orlando, often mentioned in the old romances) go to pass the night in the grotto of a certain Fulvia, a fairy or witch. Whilst they are in that grotto, they are attacked by a body of Saracens, from whom they defend themselves; but Balugante, who commands them, causes a very thick wall to be erected during the night at the entrance of the cave, and leaves one thousand men to guard it, by which means Orlando, Astolfo, Terigi, and Fulvia are effectually locked in. All the Paynims rejoice at the imprisonment of Orlando. He is cheered by Fulvia, who promises to deliver him by magic art, as well as herself and their companions in the cave. She is not, however, aware, that Carandina, fearing lest Malagise, or Malagisi (Malagigi) should deprive her of Rinaldo, had engaged the whole of the devils; so that none would obey Fulvia, who, as

[n] See above, page 246, note c.

well as the other prisoners, on finding out that this was the case, became very dejected.

Mambriano had landed in Gascony, and went to besiege Montalbano, into which, luckily, Bradiamante (Bradamante) had just entered. Assisted by Alardo, Guizzardo (Guicciardo) and Rizzardetto (Ricciardetto) she defended Montalbano, invested by one hundred and fifty thousand men. The seven hundred favorite rogues, whom Rinaldo kept in the castle, formed the *élite* of the garrison. Malagisi, on discovering that Carandina had monopolized the whole of the black legions, determines to steal from her the book, with which she commanded them, and sets off. In a sortie of the garrison, Alardo being made prisoner, Bradiamante becomes furious.

> Un' aquila affamata non discende
> Con sì aspro furor tra le colombe,
> Come costei allora il brando stende
> Tra gl' inimici, per empir le tombe. c. vi.

Mambriano, on being told that Rinaldo (for she was thought to be that Paladin) was destroying his army, was very much pleased with it, and took the field; a thing which he had not deigned to do before. He unhorsed Guicciardo and Ricciardetto, and engaged in battle with Bradiamante, when he was called off to assist a corps of Armenians, who, by his orders, had encamped on the road to France. The Armenians had been attacked and routed by Charlemagne, who was coming to the relief of Montalbano. Mambriano

went to their assistance, and made prisoners twelve knights of Charlemagne, after which the battle was concluded. Besides these, Guicciardo, Ricciardetto, and Alardo were obliged to surrender, and the garrison of Montalbano suffered great losses. Of Mambriano's knights only Sinodoro, and his brother Pulicardo had been taken. They were liberated by Bradiamante, on the agreement that her three brothers should be set free by Mambriano, and if the latter would not approve of the arrangement, they were both to return to prison. Mambriano delivered the three brothers, only because Sinodoro was firm in his determination of returning to Montalbano, if he should not set them at liberty; which Mambriano was very unwilling to do. Uggero and his son Dudone were sent by Charlemagne as ambassadors to him, to request him to leave the country, but the Saracen kept them both prisoners. Dudone began to dispense blows; Crollamonte, a giant, would have used arms against him, had not Sinodoro told him that it was a shame to employ weapons against unarmed people; upon which a challenge took place, but matters were arranged by Polidamasso.[o] Charlemagne regretted that Uggero and Dudone should be thus imprisoned and ill used; as for Orlando it was thought he was dead, no one knowing any thing about him. Charlemagne sends Dondrico to see whether he can find Rinaldo and his son Griffonetto, and in

[o] See above, page 244, note a.

the mean time Olivieri is appointed General in Chief.

Malagisi had arrived unknown, pretending to be a shipwrecked merchant, at Carandina's island, and by telling a very strange story, he is allowed to remain, and is even honoured so far by Carandina, as to be asked by her to dine at her table with Rinaldo. Having mixed a certain powder in the Paladin's wine, the love which the latter felt for Carandina is destroyed; and Malagisi, while walking in the garden, informs Rinaldo of the state of affairs at Montalbano, makes him ashamed of his idle life, and prevails upon him to leave Carandina, which he does whilst she is sleeping, in consequence of another enchantment of Malagisi, who has robbed her of her book and of her horn. Rinaldo could not help thinking of Carandina, and regretting his being obliged to leave her.

Nel montar che facea Rinaldo in nave
Si volse addietro e disse: ove ti lasso
O Carandina mia dolce e soave!
Da me tradita stai col capo basso,
E non t' avvedi che per l'onde prave,
Contra mia voglia, il mar, fuggendo, passo. c. VII.

Carandina, on being made aware of her loss, thought at first of killing herself, but determined to live, in hopes of revenge. Rinaldo and Malagisi landed at Valenza, and Bradiamante made a sortie on being informed that Olivieri, at the head of the imperial troops, had engaged Mambriano's army. She was fighting against Galeano, King of Crete, and the giant Crollamonte, at the

same time, when she smote down the giant, who fell on Galeano. It was on this memorable occasion that an event occurred, which, strange as it may seem, will be readily believed by the most sceptical reader, when he sees on what foundation its authenticity rests, as the poet himself says, of whose words on this occasion I must make use. It will afford great pleasure to find this, as well as several other passages of the *Mambriano*, translated into English by a gentleman, who, in his version of the *Orlando Furioso*, has shewn, that the nicest charms of style of the incomparable original, could neither escape his delicate taste, nor suffer in freshness, when turned by him, with such scrupulous fidelity, into elegant English verse. Bello appeals to a chronicle for the truth of what he says concerning the fall of Crollamonte and Galeano, and the awful consequences thereof.

The chronicle was in Montalban written,
And they may see it yet, who thither wend;
Writ by the hand of Bradamant, who spied
The downfall of that giant, full of pride.

She says; so heavy in his overthrow
He on the Cretan fell, that horse and knight
He fairly drove beneath the ground; and so
Entirely hidden was the king from sight,
That never from that time did any know
News, good or evil, of the missing wight;
And that the giant was so huge, no room
Was there for him within the Cretan's tomb.

Authors agree; how, slain in that rough tumble,
Both dead and buried lay king Galean;

Yet some there are who at the saying grumble,
That he was lost, and never found again;
And rumours, long and loud through Paris rumble,
On this strange tale. The matter to explain,
Turpin, who fain would see the question hushed,
Maintains, the monarch was to powder crushed.

But, as it is no point of faith, receive
What version of the story likes you best:
For willingly the author gives you leave.[p]

W. S. Rose.

Bradiamante killed Crollamonte; Mambriano at-

[p] La Cronica fu scritta a Montalbano,
E la può ancor veder chi di là passa;
E di sua man la scrisse Bradiamante,
Che vide ruinar quel gran gigante.

Riferisce costei che, nel cadere
Che fè il gigante sopra il re di Creta,
Tutto in terra il ficcò lui e il destriere
Conducendolo in parte sì segreta,
Che mai più uomo non potè sapere
Di lui novella alcuna, trista o lieta;
E che'l gigante grande a dismisura,
Non potè intrar in quella sepoltura.

Tutti gli autori s' accordano insieme,
Che Galeano fu morto e sepulto
Da tal sciagura; e quì c'è alcun che freme
Contro color che'l voglion far sì occulto
Che mai non si trovasse; e per sì estreme
Cose, nacque in Parigi un gran tumulto;
Turpin, volendo poi tal quistion solvere,
Scrisse, che colui s'era fatto in polvere.

Ma, poi che'l non è articulo di fede,
Tenete quella parte che vi piace,
Che l'autor libramente vel concede. C. VIII.

tacked the very spot where Charlemagne was; there the battle raged furiously.

> Quivi i raggi del sole eran fuggiti,
> Lasciando l'aria tenebrosa e scura;
> Quivi non si raccoglie altro che duolo;
> Trista la madre che lì avea il figliuolo! Ibid.

At length Charlemagne, defended only by Olivieri, at the head of four hundred men, saw that nothing could be done for his own relief, and thought of dying as an Emperor ought.

> Ma, com' uom che appetisce onore e gloria,
> Vuol, morendo, di sè lasciar memoria.
> Carlo fè come suol far quando more
> Una candela, la qual sminuendo
> In sè la forza, dupplica 'l splendore.[q] Ibid.

Rinaldo having left Malagisi behind, hastens to the battle, and having collected some of the soldiers who were escaping, he reproaches them with their cowardice, encourages them with magnanimous words, and leads them back to the enemy.

> Come le tenere erbe e le vïole
> Chinate a terra dal notturno gelo
> Soglion drizzarsi pel vigor del sole;
> Così costor drizzarno gli occhi al cielo,
> Già rinfrancati per quelle parole.[r] Ibid.

The Paladin rushes to assist the Emperor, who was now nearly alone.

[q] Come face rinforza anzi l'estremo
Le fiamme, e luminosa esce di vita.
TASSO, *Ger. Lib.* xix. 22.

[r] See above, page 172.

Onde il re Carlo morto si tenea,
Quando Rinaldo giunse; e questo basti
Per oggi; chè la sete m' ha percosso
In modo tal, che più cantar non posso. c. VIII.

The poet, after having refreshed himself, proceeds to say, that Rinaldo entered the battle, grumbling;

E in questo borbottar, con un riverso
Tagliava un barbassor netto a traverso. c. IX.

Then he gave such proofs of his valour that the Saracens began to disperse in all directions. Bradiamante had been as successful on her side; and to complete the universal joy, the relations of Rinaldo, as well as his wife, arrived at the imperial camp.

Esprimer non potrei la gran dolcezza
Che sentì Carlo, quando costor vide;
Tutti gli abbraccia con somma allegrezza,
E in un medesmo tempo piange e ride:
Recasi avvanti la passata asprĕzza,
E col gaudio presente la divide,
Da sè ringrazïando il sommo bene,
Poscia che tratto l'ha da tante pene. Ibid.

Whilst Rinaldo was promising his companions that he would certainly deliver such of their friends as were in Mambriano's power, the latter determined upon sailing immediately out of France. He sent the prisoners to be embarked under care of Sinodoro, who, out of affection for Bradiamante, set her father Amone at liberty; but this Duke, having lost his way in a wood, could not return to his people till morning, and

Mambriano quietly sailed away during the night. Rinaldo, perceiving this, was enraged, but his anger was vain, as he had no ships. Malagisi, however, provided against this circumstance; he got the devil to prepare three hundred transports, and two hundred galleys, which in five days were ready to receive on board Rinaldo and his army. They sailed in search of Mambriano, and Bradiamante accompanied them.

> Ma perchè molto lunga è quest' andata,
> Tornar mi voglio al Senator Romano, Ibid.

says the poet. Orlando and his companions were about to die of hunger in the cave. Their distress was excessive, Orlando alone attempting to be cheerful, in order to set a good example. He christened Fulvia, and heard the confession of Astolfo and Terigi. If the former did really disclose the whole truth, as we must charitably suppose, the Count must have heard strange things. Orlando then retired to a corner to pray; there he fell asleep, and had a vision;

> Nella qual gli pareva esser citato
> Dinnanzi a Cristo a dir la sua ragione,
> Che Pluto d'eresia l'avea accusato. Ibid.

The accusation was, that he (Orlando), as well as Fulvia, having had recourse to incantations, his soul was forfeited. Pluto thought Orlando was his;

> E per pigliarlo avea già fatto mossa;
> Quando dinnanzi al dolce Crocifisso
> Comparse, a guisa d'una fiamma accesa,
> L'Arcangel Micael in sua difesa. Ibid.

He was joined by all the souls of Pagans who had been converted by Orlando, virgins, married women, theological as well as cardinal virtues, so that at length the devil was sent back to his usual abode, and Orlando was pardoned, on condition of his never having recourse to magic again.[8] The

[8] In TURPIN there is a strange story something like this, which I here insert in English for the edification of the reader. 'One day whilst I, Turpin, was praying before the altar at Vienne and singing the psalm *Deus in adiutorium*, &c. I fell into a trance, and saw pass by me innumerable legions of black soldiers, whom I perceived to be directed towards Lorraine. They had all passed, when I saw one, as black as an Ethiop, slowly following the others. I said to him; Whither are you going? To Aix-la-Chapelle, answered he, on the death of Charles, to take his soul to hell. I said to him; I conjure thee in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that after thy journey is over, thou shalt not fail to return to me. A little while after, the psalm being scarcely over, they returned to me in the same order, and I said to the last, whom I had addressed before; What have you done? And that Galician (that is Saracen) devil said; Why, Michel has put so many stones and timber of his (Charles's) temples on one side of the balance, that his (the Emperor's) good works were heavier than the bad ones; and therefore, he (Michel) snatched his soul from us: and so said, the fiend vanished.' *Hist. Car. M. & Orl.* ch. xxxii. See above p. 210. et seq. On comparing by chance the original of TURPIN with Mr. RODD's translation I find the latter wretchedly faulty. TURPIN says: Tunc modicum commorati, vix expleto psalmo, eodem ordine ad me redierunt; et dixi novissimo, cui prius loquutus fueram: quid egistis? et dæmon Galletianus inquit: Michael tot ac tantos lapides ac ligna basilicarum suarum in statera suspendit, quod magis appenderentur bona, quam ejus mala, & idcirco ejus animam ab nobis abstulit: et his dictis dæmon evanuit. This, Mr. RODD translates as follows: 'When *I had rested* some time, and

liberation of the Count took place in the following manner.

Faburro and Teode, who commanded the soldiers left to guard the wall which blocked up the cave, having quarrelled while playing at chess, the former killed the latter, his second in command, (not with the chess board, however,) whose soldiers he dismissed. Then, fearing Balugante's anger, he thought that Orlando, if still alive, would be the best assistance he could get; and, he having broken open the wall, Orlando, Astolfo, and Fulvia came out. They went together with Faburro to Piraga, a city belonging to Fulvia, where the two latter were united in the holy bond of matrimony, having been before baptised by two Lombard priests and four English friars, who chanced to be in those parts. Griffonetto, having learnt all this at Saragoza, carries the happy tidings to the Emperor, who hears of it the very day he was entering Paris after Mambriano's defeat.

On the marriage of Faburro with Fulvia, a juglar happened to arrive at Piraga,

> Il qual, per esser uso in ogni golfo,
> Conobbe presto l'animo d'Astolfo.

begun to explain the psalms, behold they returned back, and, speaking to the same *person* I before addressed, I inquired *whom he had been seeking,* and was answered, "*The Gallician;*" but the stones and timber of the churches he founded, balanced so greatly in his favor, that his good works outweighed his bad, and his soul was snatched from us: and at this the demon vanished.'

E cominciolli a dir molte novelle,
Delle quali io ne vo' recitar una. c. x.

But it would not be at all to the reader's taste to listen to this tale, which any one, who is not particularly nice, may find in the fourth volume of Le Grand's collection, under the title of *Le Pêcheur de Pont-sur-Seine.* Orlando and Astolfo, after the festivals are over, sail for Africa, intending to punish Meonte. On landing they hear that a certain Fulicano destroyed all those who passed by his castle. A shepherd informed them of this fact, adding to it;

E sappi che il leon così non rugge,
Quando per febbre, o per altro disagio,
Si vede astretto in lochi oscuri e bui,
Come ogni giorno s' ode far costui. Ibid.

This Fulicano had a bridge, over which he had promised Meonte he would not allow any one to pass during a whole year. There were three roads to the bridge: Orlando took one, Astolfo another, and Terigi the third, on the understanding that he who arrived first should attack the giant. Astolfo wished to be the first; but Orlando,

. . . . . che sapea il costume antico
Del suo cugino; e come spesso usciva
Fuor degli arcioni, Ibid.

hastened, to arrive before his merry cousin, as he did. The giant could not be killed, except by fire or water, on account of an incantation. Astolfo laughed at Orlando for being so long in killing him. Orlando thought something was the matter with Durindana.

Onde per ira a un sasso si rivolse,
Del qual era già uscita una fontana,
Per veder se falsata è Durindana.
Tutto il divise dalla cima al fondo.[t] c. XI.

The giant told Orlando he would never be able to kill him, but the Paladin threw him from the bridge into the river, and there the fellow was drowned.

In the castle of Fulicano, Orlando finds a lady called Nilvia, and a youth called Nisballe, son of Ascarione, scarcely sixteen years old, the only persons who had not been destroyed by the robber. Orlando sets off intending to visit the temple of Mars, not farther than a day's journey from thence, and Nilvia asks to be restored to her father who lived near.

Astolfo ch' era tutto femminile
Disse: non dubitar; chè custodita
Sarai da un Cavalier franco e gagliardo,
Il quale avrà di te sommo riguardo.
Rispose Orlando: Oh Dio! che a quel che io sento
El sparvier vuole accompagnar la quaglia,
E dice di condurla a salvamento. Ibid.

However, she trusted him, and went away under

[t] Timens (Rolandus) ne in manus Saracenorum veniret, percussit spata petronum marmoreum trino ictu, volens eam frangere. Quid plura? in duabus partibus a summo usque deorsum dividitur, et gladius biceps foras illæsus reducitur. TURPIN. *Hist. Car. M. & Rol.* chap. xxiii. Galaffre . . . . . haussa sa hache tranchante . . . . et le coup frappa à terre tellement, qu'il fendit la pierre de marbre, sur la quelle le coup se trouva. *La conqueste du gran Charlemagne*, p. 165.

his care. He began to profess great admiration for her beauty: nor were his compliments ill received; when the couple, very soon after leaving Orlando, met Assimago, the lady's father, with troops who were coming to deliver her from Fulicano. Astolfo was more vexed than can be well imagined at this provoking interruption of the conversation; but he appeared as good humoured as usual. He was asked how he had succeeded in liberating the lady:

> Quivi Astolfo si adornò della fama
> Che perveniva a Orlando suo cugino.
> Nilvia, che già in segreto molto l'ama,
> Conferma ciò che dice il Paladino. Ibid.

She was very sorry when Astolfo left them to join Orlando. The latter, seeing him so soon returned, asked him whether they had taken the lady from him?

> Rispose Astolfo: E qual uomo bastante
> Sarebbe a tormi una dama per forza?
> . . . . . .
> Rispose Orlando: Io so che molto vali,
> Cugin, laddove non sei conosciuto. Ibid.

So talking and travelling together, they met a chariot, on which was a knight pinioned, who was going to be sacrificed to Mars. Orlando rushes against the chief of the priests who were to sacrifice him,

> E la mitria col capo gli divise,
> Tal che gli fece abbandonar la stola. Ibid.

The others took to their heels as fast as they could, in all directions,

> Gettando via le mitrie, i pivïali,
> E tutti i segni lor sacerdotali.
> Il lettisternio, l'incenso, il turribile,
> E tutte l'altre cose abbandonaro;
> . . . . . ma quei che restaro,
> Tutti da Astolfo fur tagliati e morti. Ibid.

The knight, who was thus delivered, proved to be Sinodoro, who told Orlando that he was shipwrecked and thrown on the coast with Namo and Ottone, who were taken prisoners along with him. Orlando, Astolfo and Sinodoro proceed to the temple of Mars, and whilst the lord of Brava was contriving how to raze it to the ground, Vulcan, who had formerly built it, arrives, and after having related how he had been wronged by Mars (Astolfo did not find any thing either extraordinary or improper in the transaction), sets fire to the temple. Meonte proceeds to attack the Paladins, but Orlando throws him into the flames of the temple. The inhabitants of Utica chuse Filomede as Meonte's successor. Orlando going toward Syria with Nisballe, they fall in with the army of Ascarione, who was at war with Meonte. They unite and besiege Utica, take Filomede prisoner in a sortie, but cannot discover what had become of Namo and Ottone. Meanwhile an old man, whose prisoners these two Paladins were, proposes that they should be elected to command the garrison, till some assist-

ance might be had from the king of Garamanta; which was done.

Here the poet returns to Mambriano. This sovereign, arriving in his kingdom, found it more flourishing than ever, owing to Carminiano's good government. This faithful councillor did not however cease from remonstrating against the war; but on hearing that Rinaldo had landed, Carminiano put himself at the head of the army destined to repel the invasion. On meeting the enemy, the horse of Carminiano carried him among the Christians, who surrounding him, would have killed him, had he not been delivered by Bradiamante, who on seeing him was reminded of Sinodoro. A battle was fought with no great advantage on either side, although Mambriano was first obliged to recal his troops from the field of battle. Rinaldo was very kind to Carminiano, who told him and Bradiamante how disgusted he was with Mambriano's conduct, and how glad he would be, could he but leave him in an honourable way. Rinaldo set Carminiano at liberty, only on condition that he should see that the Christian prisoners were well treated, which it was in vain however to hope from Mambriano. Among many who hastened to this king's assistance, there was one Polidarco, who wished to hang Gano, who was among the prisoners. Gano succeeded in persuading Mambriano, that if he set him free, together with Dudon, the son of Uggeri, not to excite any suspicion, he would betray Rinaldo into his hands. This infamous

treaty having been agreed upon, Gano was liberated. The latter, however, immediately informed Rinaldo of the transaction; so that on his giving the signal agreed upon to Mambriano, this king, who thought of attacking the Christians unaware, was himself surrounded by them. The battle was a very ferocious one. Rinaldo was unhorsed by Mambriano, as was Bradiamante by Archimbaldo, a huge fellow, who was armed with an anchor, with which he hooked and knocked down people, just as the case might require. The Soudan, who had come to Mambriano's assistance, was made prisoner, but afterwards liberated on his promise, that Mambriano would set Uggeri at liberty in return. Instead of doing that, the Saracen thought of causing four of the prisoners to be hanged. Malagisi, who during the battle, had rendered himself very useful by causing certain devils to seem to set fire to Mambriano's fleet, whereby the king had given up the fight against the Christians, now determined to prevent the death of his companions, and caused the fortress in which the prisoners were immured to be carried during the night, by some handy demons, to a mountain, where Rinaldo's army was encamped. Mambriano was so vexed at this, that being unable to put the devil to death, he caused all his magicians to be executed, because they did not prevent this clever trick of Malagisi. The prisoners were, of course, delivered.

Pinamonte, King of Hircania, one of those crowned heads who had come to the assistance of

Mambriano, was in love with Bradiamante, whom he had never seen; and, what is still more ridiculous, he was ninety years old. He had never loved before; but the law is, that he who has not felt the passion when young, must feel it in his old age, and then be despised.

Amor vuol; chi non ama in giovinezza,
Ami poi nell' estrema sua vecchiezza.
Pinamonte era stato in questi errori;
Come fra spine un soffocato giglio
Che tien di maggio occulti i bei colori,
E non appar nè bianco, nè vermiglio;
Poi si discopre, e non ha chi l' odori
L'autunno, quand' ogni cosa è in periglio;
E se pur per disgrazia alcuno il vede,
Sfogliato il trova, e non gli presta fede. c. XIV.

On being sent as ambassador to Rinaldo together with Carminiano, Pinamonte sees Bradiamente and declares his affection. He says to her that when young he would never love,

Come presago della tua beltade
Per farti un don di tutta la mia etade.
Tu sai che il tutto è maggior della parte,
Benchè la nova età paja più bella. c. XV.

Bradiamante tells Carminiano to enter alone into the negociation, for which they had come to the Christian camp, and that she would cure Pinamonte. She then says to the latter that he must joust with her, and conquer her, if he wishes that she should be his; and to this he assents. He goes home to exercise himself in the use of arms, and then asks his courtiers whether he is not

strong, at which all bow assent. Upon this the poet breaks forth:

> Io non so fior cinto da tante spine,
> Come un signor da lingue scellerate,
> Che con veleno, e non con medicine,
> Vanno ungendo le membra vulnerate. Ibid.

Pinamonte goes out early in the morning to joust against Bradiamante, who was not on the spot, as the impatient lover had proceeded thither long before the time agreed upon. He falls asleep on his horse while waiting. Bradiamante arriving perceives this, takes him to her tent, and puts him to bed. On his awaking, he is given to understand that he has jousted and has been conquered. He says he did not at all recollect it; but at once he perceives it to be true. His bones ache, and, to prevent any bad consequences, he submits to he bled, thinking all the while that she loves him. Carminiano, to prevail upon him to give up making love at his age, tells him a tale of the precautions uselessly taken by an old man to prevent a young wife wronging him.[u] Pinamonte, however, was more foolish than ever. He was even persuaded to dance; but so ludicrous an adventure happened to him

[u] Towers have never proved of any avail to keep ladies from mischief; for, as we know, who can exclude a golden rain? The old fellow mentioned by Carminiano did as many others have done in his circumstances: he locked his young and beautiful wife in a strong tower; but he was finally deceived. A story, like this of BELLO, occurs in LE GRAND'S collection, vol. iii. entitled *Le Chevalier à la trappe.*

that he felt ashamed, and returned to the camp of Mambriano,[x] where his childish conduct and consequent misfortunes were soon made public.

The siege of Utica meantime proceeded. Namo, and Ottone appointed leaders of the garrison, challenged the leaders of the besiegers.

> Astolfo che li udiva fu il primieri
> Che disse a Orlando: Conte non t' incaglia
> Di questi smemorati cavalieri,
> Perchè di lor farò come di paglia,
> Se m' aspettano tanto ch' io li affronti:
> Rispose Orlando: troppo in alto monti. c. XVII.

Astolfo went out to fight. Namo pretended not to recognise him, and treated him like a buffoon. The English Duke was mad with rage. But his father discovered himself, and they became all good friends. The inhabitants of Utica, thinking they were betrayed, attacked the Paladins; they were routed, and the city was taken. Orlando, to whom the crown was offered, gave it to Nisballe, to the great grief of Filomede, who had united with the Paladins. The city was soon besieged by a great number of barbarians. Such a terrible battle was fought under its walls, and so many persons were killed,

> Che a Pluto bisognò per tal richiamo
> Far più Caronti: e questi non bastoro,
> Però che tanti spirti discenderno,
> Che gli fu forza d'aggrandir l'inferno. c. XVIII.

[x] The adventure cannot be more particularly mentioned. Something not unlike it happened a few years ago to an old Count Sanseverino at a ball given by the Duchess of Parma.

Filomede thought of betraying his companions, but the son of the general of the enemy killed him for his treachery. This conciliated the good opinion of Orlando so much, that a negociation was immediately entered into, which ended in a treaty of peace. Astolfo made love to the ladies; Orlando preached Christianity and converted Saracens, and, to establish peace on a more lasting foundation, Nisballe was married to Sofronilla the daughter of Alifarne his enemy. After this, having heard that Faburro had been treacherously murdered by the father of Teode, and that Fulvia was besieged by him and Balugante, Orlando sails with a fair wind to assist her.

Carandina on hearing that Rinaldo, whom she still loved, was in Asia, combatting against Mambriano, leaves her island, accompanied by thirty damsels, to join him. She is, however, taken by some pirates, who treat her and her damsels as might be expected from such lawless men. Carandina again thinks of killing herself, but is prevented by one of her damsels, who, in order to cheer her up, tells her a long story, which is not worth relating, although the only one, perhaps, free from immoral passages. Enough to say that it produces its effect, and Carandina determines to continue to live. She and her ladies are confined by the pirates near the place, where the war between Rinaldo and Mambriano is carried on.

The truce, which Carminiano had concluded when he was at the Christian camp with Pinamonte, having expired, the two armies begin the

combat again. In this battle Bajardo fights wonderfully and even more fiercely than usual.

> Coi piè di dietro folgora e tempesta,
> Con quei dinnanzi percuote e martella,
> Con la bocca divora, e con la testa
> Urta le schiere, aprendo or questa, or quella;
> Cavalli e cavalier per la foresta
> Va riversando, e non trova sì bella
> Compagnia, che per forza non la spunti,
> Lasciandone, di quattro, i tre defunti. C. XXIII.

Mambriano attacks Rinaldo, supported by many others. The Paladin, to show his contempt for them all, kills, in their presence, a favourite knave of Mambriano, who is mightily enraged at this;

> E tanta furia gli entrò nel cervello,
> Che, s'el fosse allor stato in Paradiso,
> Per vendicarsi uscito ne sarebbe,
> Tanto la morte di colui gl' increbbe. Ibid.

Pinamonte, for love of Bradiamante, orders his soldiers to turn against Mambriano, which they do; but he is mortally wounded, from behind, by Almerione, who is killed by Bradiamante. She then goes to her old lover, and converts him to Christianity, baptizing him with *her tears*, as there was no water at hand; he then dies. By the assistance of the demons conjured by Malagisi, Mambriano is at length compelled to fly. Carminiano and his people, who had followed him as long as he had faced the enemy, now that he escapes, abandon him, and go over to Rinaldo.

This Paladin enters into a wood following Mambriano, who had taken that way. The Saracen is going to kill himself with his sword;

Quando innanzi gli apparve uno smeriglio,
Drieto a una lodolina ardito e prodo,
E quasi l' avea colta nell' artiglio;
Ma quella, discendendo al terren sodo
Per non venir al suo nemico in mano,
Volò sopra una spalla a Mambriano.

E, come ajuto chieder gli volesse,
Con l' ali il percotea suavemente:
Mambrian, benchè già disposto avesse
Con quella spada tutta sanguinente
Darsi la morte, alquanto pretermesse
Il colpo, ritraendo a sè la mente,
Dalla qual s'era tanto allontanato,
Che non curava più vita nè stato.

Ma contemplando quello animaletto
Che sol per un instinto naturale
Fuggìa la morte, si percosse il petto,
Dicendo a sè medesmo: Or che ti vale
Aver memoria, ragione, e intelletto,
Se superar ti lasci a un animale,
Che non discerne, e non ha in sè misura,
Se non quanto gli è porto da natura? Ibid.

He, therefore, wisely determines to live. Being tired, he lies down and falls asleep. Rinaldo having arrived, awakes him, and a duel takes place between them, near Carandina's castle. She, on hearing the rumour of the battle, runs out just at the moment, when Rinaldo is about to kill Mambriano; a catastrophe which she prevents, on Mambriano acknowledging that he told what was

not true in asserting that Mambrino had been treacherously murdered by the Paladin. Having thus apologized, Mambriano marries Carandina; and her damsels are delivered from the castle. Rinaldo recognises the one, who told the story before alluded to.[y] She then recites to him another tale, not worth mentioning.

A short time having elapsed, the pirates return to the castle now occupied by Rinaldo and Mambriano. Nicea, who is the first of those who return, engages to serve Carandina and is pardoned. Arpia, the chief of the whole tribe, then comes back.

> Rinaldo ch' era al punir pronto e destro
> Senza dir altro gli acconciò il capestro. c. XXVI.

His late companions help Rinaldo, and console Arpia, saying that none had ever been so much honoured,

> Come sei tu, che il sir di Montalbano
> T'ha legato il capestro di sua mano. Ibid.

Arpia only asks the favour that they also should be hanged; a boon kindly granted by Rinaldo, who, to please him, destines Arpia himself to be their executioner; an office which he most gladly and skilfully performs. But the last of the pirates, on being hanged out of a window, seizes Arpia and throws him down a frightful precipice, so that the whole tribe is destroyed. A general peace follows.

[y] See above, page 308.

Orlando, sailing towards Piraga to assist Fulvia, is obliged by a storm to take shelter in an island, where two ladies present themselves to him: one provided with every thing, the other in want of every thing. The first of these damsels requests Orlando to lodge in her house. To entice him she makes a pompous display of her riches. Astolfo turns to Orlando,

> E disse: Cugin mio questo è un buon loco;
> E tu, volendo, ne puoi far acquisto
> Senza fatica; il che non mi par poco. Ibid.

Orlando is about to accept the invitation, when the second lady says that she is better than her rival. She offers simplicity and kindness, not the false politeness displayed by the other, with her splendid suppers and palace. Astolfo laughs, and cannot understand why one must sleep in the fresh air and have bad food, when dainties and a comfortable home are offered. At length he, Argillo and Pinagora, go with the first lady, who is called *Richezza* (Riches). The Count, Sinodoro and Timorante accompany the other, who is called *Povertà* (Poverty). The latter tells her guests what mischief *Riches* has done. The poet must here be allowed to speak for himself. Some of the stanzas are offered to the public in English, by the invaluable and friendly assistance of Mr. Rose. After having said that man, in old times, was neither proud nor vain, she continues:

Most dear to him was once my poor retreat,
And man with me lived modestly and chaste;
But he, when Riches once had crost his way,
Left me, and cast himself with her away;

And they, that had been shepherd-swains whilere,
'Gan hold embattled towers and castled rock,
And take the stile of king and duke and peer,
And rummage every day some writ or book:
Whence is the world at variance far and near;
With war 'twixt fathers, sons and brethren shook,
Through errors, at her pleasure kept a-jar,
Who breathes but vanity and endless war.

Fraud, quarrel, discord dwell in her repair
Cozenage in money-contracts, usury,
False dealing, envy, mischief, hidden snare,
And open treason, and conspiracy,

Soavissimo gli era il mio ricetto
E meco si vivea pudico e casto;
Ma come la Ricchezza si scoperse,
Da me si tolse, e dietro lei si perse.

E color, ch' eran già stati pastori,
Incominciaro a far rocche e castelli,
E a nominarsi re, duchi e signori,
E a porgersi ogni dì scritti e libelli,
Onde il mondo s'è pien di tanti errori,
Che i padri, i figli, i cugini, i fratelli,
A posta di costei che in sè non serra
Altro che vanità, stan sempre in guerra.

Risse, discordie, fraudi, e tradimenti
Abitan con costei, usure, e stocchi,
Falsi negozi, invidie, e nocumenti,
Insidie aperte, e celati trabocchi,

Hate, homicide, all failings; so that ware
And wise the mortal is who shuts his eye
On that false blaze wherewith her brows are bright,
Which dazzles much and scatters little light.

She adds, moreover, that she can be accompanied with Christianity: that Christ preferred her;

E mentre che la chiesa ebbe a trovarsi
Povera, le sue cose andaron bene. Ibid.

Pazienza, *Tolleranza*, and *Sobrietà* join the party of *Povertà*. Astolfo and his friends laugh at the choice of Orlando; and they eat and drink freely and well. Then *Ricchezza* says of *Povertà*:

Above a thousand times, not once a day,
Dies he that dwells with her, yet will not mourn
The less, for all he dies so often; nay
Will not eschew one woe, one single scorn.
None hears her cry, lament her as she may;
For all are fain from her abode to turn,
Save he, that wholly is beside his road,
Even as himself to-day thy cousin showed.[z]

Odii, omicidii, e tutti i mancamenti;
Sì che savio è colui che chiude gli occhi
Al falso lume che in costei s'accende,
Perchè molto abbarbaglia e poco splende. Ibid.

[z] In casa di costei, non una volta
Si muor, ma più di mille volte il giorno;
E per tanto morir non gli vien tolta
Una minima pena, un solo scorno;
Lamento che lei faccia non s' ascolta,
Chè ognun cerca spiccarsela d' intorno,
Se non è in tutto fuora del cammino,
Com' oggi s'è mostrato il tuo cugino.

So vile an inn as hers, I wot, is none
For gentle heart to make its dwelling-place;
And if from thence some virtuous man hath gone,
Who lives a life of poverty with grace,
He may be likened to a precious stone,
Set by the workman's hand in thing more base;
Which so its water and its worth belies,
We almost false the costly gem surmise.

But, is one spark of virtue struck by me;
Its blaze throughout the world is widely blown:
Wiser than Sybil am I deemed to be;
All with the meed of praise my merit crown.
But for the unquiet crone, Austerity,
Ne'er quits her side, in her this is not shown.
Again I say to you;—no dream I read—
To me she still resorts in every need.

The conclusion is that Astolfo and the two others, who had gone to Ricchezza's house, are chained whilst sleeping by seven giants, who take them

Io non conosco albergo sì nojoso
Come quel di costei a un gentil core;
E se pur n'esce alcun uomo virtuoso,
Vivendo in povertà che gli fa onore,
Gli è simile a un diamante prezïoso
Legato in qualche materia inferiore
Alla sua nobiltà, che il vilipende
Tanto, che quasi per falso si vende.

Ma se io trovo una breve scintilla
Di virtù, tutto il mondo ne ragiona;
Tenuta son da più che una Sibilla,
Ognun con le sue laude m' incorona;
Il che manca a costei, per la intranquilla
Austerità che mai non l' abbandona.
Ancor vi avviso, e questi non son sogni,
Che a me riccorre in tutti i suoi bisogni. c. XXVII.

to a wood in the neighbourhood, and beat them most unmercifully. Orlando hastens, on hearing their cries, to their relief, together with the other two friends, Sinodoro and Timocrate, and after hard fighting, not only these, but nine giants more are killed. But poor Astolfo is not set at liberty notwithstanding all this; since he, as well as the two knights who had separated from Orlando, had been shut up by the giants in a tomb, the lid of which Orlando tried in vain to move. He then hears a voice calling out to him to desist.

> Voltossi Orlando, e vide uscir del bosco
> Una donna di tempo molto attiva,
> Vestita d' un color ch' io non conosco
> Per aver persa la virtù visiva;[a]
> E un drometario di pel scuro e fosco
> Carco d' ingegni, dietro le seguiva. Ibid.

This is *Industria* daughter of *Povertà*, sent to the prisoners' assistance on account of Orlando. By her exertions the tomb is opened, and the imprisoned knights are delivered. Then the whole of the warriors reimbark in order to succour Fulvia, and arrive at Piraga. Guriante, the father of Teode, is suddenly attacked by the garrison and by the knights in concert. In his confusion, not knowing what to do, he is killed. The battle becomes general. Galafrone arrives at this moment, with a fleet, to besiege Piraga

[a] This manner of expressing himself proves that Bello lost his sight after having enjoyed it.

by sea, but after all, his efforts do not succeed. Throwing himself from the city, which he had entered, into the sea, Galafrone dashes his head against a ship and dies. His fleet is set fire to by Timocrate. Orlando does wonders.

> Una ruina sembra il franco Conte,
> Che abbia tenuti occulti i suoi rumori
> Sopra la cima di qualche alto monte,
> Non prevveduta dagli abitatori;
> Che poi, scoperta in un volger di fronte,
> Disperge insieme le gregge e i pastori,
> Guasta le mandrie, le capanne, e i boschi;
> E fa fuggir le fiere coi suoi toschi. c. XXVIII.

At last the battle is won by the friends of Fulvia, with whom Sinodoro fell in love. On the news reaching Marsiglio, Biancardino, the general who commanded his troops against Fulvia, is accused of being an unskilful leader. The messenger who is one of Biancardino's followers, defends his master. Grandonio gives him a blow and is dangerously wounded in return, but he kills the messenger. Marsiglio is advised by Grandonio, his brother, to have recourse to violence against Orlando, whilst Argalia, another brother, persuades him to pacify Orlando by gentle entreaties. This plan being preferred, Marsiglio goes to Orlando's camp, is very well received, and a general peace ensues. The dominions of Guriante are given to Fulvia. The love of Sinodoro for her becomes more and more violent. He one day retires to a wood and complains of his fate, being afraid of not succeeding in obtaining the object of his affection.

Now, mourning in this melancholy vein,
A murmuring of the forest leaves he hears;
And next a gladder and more pleasing strain,
From the small feathered songsters filled his ears;
And zephyr breathes so softly, ocean's plain
Curled into waves, without a storm, appears:
Upon that shore, throughout its banks and bowers,
Every where teems the turf with fresher flowers.[b]

W. S. Rose.

It was Venus who came to suggest to him the means of obtaining Fulvia's hand. She told him to do as lovers do; to be bold,

E giurare e mentir, quando bisogna;

with other suggestions of this kind, which Sinodoro is told by Dafne it would be wrong to follow. Dafne suddenly vanishes.

E questo ricoprirsi immedïate
Fu per rispetto del Sol, che volea
Stendersi sopra le labbre rosate,
E baciarle, poichè altro non potea. Ibid.

At last Sinodoro marries Fulvia, and to celebrate this marriage, Orlando determines that a tournament should be held. On hearing this, Grandonio writes to Marsiglio to betray Orlando and his friends, in some manner or other; but Marsiglio gives the letter to the Paladin to peruse,

[b] Or stando in questo lamentabil pianto,
Odì nel bosco mormorar le fronde,
E gli augelletti dupplicare il canto,
Con armonie più liete e più gioconde,
E zeffiro spirar soave tanto,
Che il mar, senza fortuna, movea l'onde
Circa quel lito, e per ciascuna riva
L'erba di nuovi fior tutta fioriva. c. xxix.

who suggests to Marsiglio this answer; 'that, if Grandonio had any reason to be dissatisfied with Orlando, he had better go and try his strength against him at the tournament.' Grandonio, instead, collects a body of banditti to attack Orlando treacherously.

Rinaldo in the mean time arrives at Utica, where he finds Namo, and from Malagisi he hears of Orlando's victories and of the intended tournament. All the party sail together on board of Rinaldo's ships to join the Count. Dressed like Syrians, by way of disguise, they land ten leagues off the place where they expect to find Orlando. On the way Rinaldo delivers Licomene and many other knights from a certain Guinisbaldo, who, however, becomes intimate with Rinaldo, and persuades him, as well as his friends, to go to one of his castles. The prisoners who had been delivered by Rinaldo, put to death a great thief called Marlimonte, brother of Guinisbaldo. Malagisi, who had gone to discover when the tournament was to begin, sends a devil, Calcabrino, to inform Rinaldo of it. But this demon joins with one of his brethren, and resolves upon giving Guinisbaldo to understand, that Pulima, the only daughter of the King of Granata, whom he loved very much, desired him to keep Rinaldo and all his party prisoners. Guinisbaldo believes it and does so. He then writes to Marlimonte that he wishes to send him these prisoners to keep. The letter is delivered to Licomene, who then lived, with the other knights, his companions,

in Marlimonte's castle. Licomene, assuming the character of Marlimonte, fixes which way the prisoners are to be brought to him, at the same time giving to the messenger, as a pledge of the truth of the answer, a ring which had belonged to Marlimonte.

The prisoners are taken the way which, it was supposed, Marlimonte desired; but Licomene and his companions attack the escort in order to deliver them. Viviano is in fact delivered, as well as some of the others, but not Rinaldo; for, Guinisbaldo caused him to be taken to a wood, where he left him under the care of one of his men, and returned with the rest to fight Licomene's party. The man, who has the care of Bradiamante, wishes to take advantage of the confusion, and, being in a solitary part of the forest, unties her, and begins to treat her rudely. The brave virago

> . . . . . si accese
> Di un tal furor, che il bel viso sereno
> Divenne oscuro; e in modo il pugno stese,
> Che, s'egli è ver ciò che Turpin favella,
> In bocca gli fè scender le cervella. c. XXXI.

She then arms herself with his armour, and runs to the assistance of her companions, who could not do much, being either unarmed, or ill armed.

> Una fiamma dal vento trasportata
> In qualche stoppia, fra la secca paglia,
> Non fa come facea con la sua spata
> Bradiamante, quel dì giunta in battaglia. Ibid.

At length Guinisbaldo and his followers are put

to flight. He goes to fetch Rinaldo, and takes him to Pulima, who receives the Paladin very well, declaring she will no longer love a traitor; upon which Guinisbaldo hangs himself on an oak tree. Near that oak was a fellow with Rinaldo's armour on. The lord of Montalbano, passing by, asked him where he had got that armour? 'I have bought it from one who was asleep,' says he pertly. 'But I am not sleeping now,' rejoined Rinaldo.

Colui si strinse, e non parlò più mai,
Tutto in un gruppo, per viltà di core;
E Rinaldo gli avvinse una capezza
Intorno al collo con molta fierezza;
E a quella quercia subito il sospese
Allato al suo signor, come avea detto. Ibid.

The Paladin then blows his horn, to collect his companions, but none come. The devil had begun to persecute them all.

E incontanente trasformò un pagano
Di quei morti, in tal forma, che parea
Naturalmente il Sir di Montalbano,
E fra due olmi sospeso il tenea
A un alto faggio, poco di lontano
A Bradiamante, che il bosco scorrea
Cercando il car fratel di riva in riva,
Tanto che a questo faggio perveniva.[c] Ibid.

[c] From this, it has been observed, it seems probable that TASSO took the idea that Rinaldo appeared to lie murdered and headless, in a solitary part of the country, near Jerusalem. See *Gerus. Liber.* viii. 52 to 56. and xiv 53 to 56. The superiority of TASSO is, however, immense. Amongst other things it is to be observed, that according to this great poet, no supernatural interference or power is necessary to produce the events which he relates.

Whilst Bradiamante and the others, who had now joined her, weep over the pretended Rinaldo, the real one arrives alive and well; but the incantation making him appear Guinisbaldo to them, Bradiamante and the others rush upon him. Rinaldo is very quiet for a while, and then begins to defend himself as gently as he can. Turpin who is present, on seeing this extraordinary valour and moderation, suspects there is something wrong, and on his conjuring the devils to speak out, the whole truth is discovered.[d] The sight of these miracles converts Licomene, who marries Pulima whom he loved before. Her father being just dead, the kingdom of Granata becomes hers and her husband's. Rinaldo regrets he cannot

[d] Turpin acted very much like all witches of old, who had the power of animating dead bodies. He ordered a devil to enter the body of the pretended Rinaldo, and tell how the affair stood. Thus Dipsas, mentioned above, page 15,

> Evocat antiquis proavos atavosque sepulchris.
>
> OVID. *Am.* I. 17.

And speaking of old women in general, the same poet says,

> Me duce non tumulo prodire jubebitur umbra,
> Non anus infami carmine rumpet humum. *R.A.* 253.

Erycto was likewise famous for it. LUCAN. *Pharsal.* vi. 727. She is alluded to by DANTE, *Infer.* ix. 22. It is true that BELLO does not say that that body, which was supposed to be Rinaldo's, was animated by its own soul, but fancies it was occupied by a devil by Turpin's orders; the process, however, is the same. DANTE has an awful fiction of this kind. He says, that as soon as one commits a treacherous murder of a relative, his soul is carried to hell, and his body is animated by a demon. See *Inf.* xxxiii. 129.

accompany them thither, but hopes to be able to visit them shortly. He then determines to continue his journey to the tournament.

Whilst these things were taking place at the castle of Licomene, Orlando was superintending the preparations for the tournament. The crests of Astolfo and Argillo were as strange as the two champions themselves.

> Astolfo per cimier portava un carro
> Carco di grilli, in atto trionfale;'
> Argillo poco men di lui bizzarro,
> Avea una gabbia piena di cicale. c. XXXII..

Orlando is armed, and keeps six thousand men ready to defend the ladies, against the treachery of Grandonio, of which he has heard something. When the time comes for jousting, Arpalisto, a Spaniard, enters the lists laughing. 'I promise thee,' says Astolfo to Argillo,

> Fartel veder sopra il terrestre limo
> Lui e'l caval con un sol colpo, in guisa
> Che i sensi perderà, non che le risa.
> Va, disse Argillo, poi che così brilli,
> Astolfo mio; ma guarda che colui
> Non ti faccia del capo uscir i grilli;
> Chè vergogna sarebbe a tutti nui.
>
> . . . .
>
> Abbi pur cura delle tue cicale,
> Rispose Astolfo, e non ti dar pensiero,
> Che questo Ispano mi riduca a tale
> Che i grilli m' escan fuori del cimiero. Ibid.

On that day it so happened that Astolfo was declared the conqueror at the tournament, whereupon being much elated, he boasted to Fulvia,

and was offended with Orlando, who kindly suggested to him to keep off the field the next day, lest he should lose his unlooked for glory.

Rinaldo meanwhile arrived. Grandonio, aware of being well watched, did not see any chance of success in any of his treacherous schemes, and therefore entered the lists, with one hundred of his men, determined to take advantage of any opportunity which might offer itself to play some villanous trick. He met in joust with Rinaldo, who unhorsed him so rudely, that several of his ribs were broken, and he was obliged to withdraw. Orlando in disguise jousted with Rinaldo: but it was only a joke on the part of Orlando. They soon recognised, and embraced each other. The prizes of the joust were then distributed by Fulvia, who gave nothing to Astolfo, as he had been dismounted very early on the second day, when he obstinately insisted upon taking the field; at the same time, she gave herself to Sinodoro. Astolfo laughed at her saying that Sinodoro loved her; but she very politely presented him with a 'cap and bells;' upon which he was so ashamed (a thing which, Rinaldo said, never happened to him before), that he immediately went back to Piraga, without which place the tournament was held. The knights then returned to the city, each of them taking one of the ladies *en croupe*. Poor Orlando, being near-sighted, chose the ugliest of them all. Rinaldo had selected a very fine damsel, Floria the sister of Timocrate. Astolfo on seeing the party return, envied the

other knights their fair companions, and, not to be altogether without his share of the enjoyment, he went to hand down the ladies from the horses, and saluted every one of them. At table he did all he could to teaze Rinaldo, in order to drive him from Floria's side, and to take his place; but the lord of Montauban knew better, and answered him without ever stirring. The worthy Paladins in their repartees give proofs rather of impudence than of wit. As for Grandonio, he tried to have a fountain poisoned, in order to kill Rinaldo, as well as the rest of the party, but did not succeed. A general peace is now concluded (for it seems that the natural state of the parties was that of war). Marsiglio swears never more to trouble Fulvia, and pays three years tribute to Charlemagne. The father of Sinodoro and his brothers stay with him; all the others go to their several countries. Rinaldo, Orlando, Bradiamante, Astolfo, Malagisi, &c. return to France. Their voyage of seven hundred miles was performed in one night: thanks to the devil, who, by Malagisi's orders, pushed on their ships.

The joy of all the Parisians on the return of the Paladins was very great indeed. Rinaldo presented the tributes of the nations he had conquered, which were all left to him by Charlemagne, that he might be able to live without robbing on the highways, which Astolfo said was out of the question. The latter boasted very much, and complained of not being rewarded, but Orlando, who spoke very little of his own merits, to leave

all the glory to Rinaldo, gave him half the treasures which he had acquired, and which the emperor had left him, as he had done to Rinaldo. Astolfo accepted the gift, observing that he had before spoken in jest, to see whether Orlando or Rinaldo could better stand a joke. The emperor having created forty new knights, a tournament is determined upon, at which Rinaldo forbids his younger son Ivonetto to appear. Malagisi presents himself to the youth, disguised as a hermit, and tells him where he is to go, to get a certain famous suit of armour; which he in fact obtains, on swearing that he would undertake a certain dangerous expedition. Malagisi then gives him an enchanted lance, the touch of which none could withstand. After this Ivonetto enters the lists *incognito*, and does wonders. He unhorses his own eldest brother, Aimonetto, who was riding on Bajardo, lent to him by Rinaldo for the occasion. On that famous steed Ivonetto jumps, after having dismounted his brother. Rinaldo hastens to recover his horse; but Bajardo pricked by Ivonetto, clears the walls of the city, and off he and the rider go.

I know that some of you turn-up your eyes,
With 'softly, soh! blind man, this is a lie;'
Whose unbelief in me breeds no surprise:
For they, that when that leap was made were by,[e]

---

[e] Io so che alcun di voi mi torce il ciglio:
Pian pian, dicendo, Cieco, te ne menti;
De' quali certo non mi maraviglio,
Poichè color che al salto fur presenti,

And saw Bajardo shoot from earth, in guise
Of falcon, with his armed lord, and fly,
Beholding it, scarce trusted to their view,
Nor deem'd that such a wonder could be true.

Have ye not read how Perseus, he that came
Of prisoned Danae, had a winged steed,
Which to the muses' mountain gave its name,
That bore him through the air in iron weed?
Now, if this mighty feat be vouched by fame,
No marvel is it, if the charmed steed
Bajardo, with a leap beyond the wall
Bore valiant Ivonetto, arms and all.

We must believe; for Turpin this hath said,
Turpin an author that has never lied;
But a strait furrow with his pen hath made,
Which still Euterpe and Thalia guide.
And this have I with that same faith displaid,
Wherewith, I think, 'twas said upon his side.

W. S. Rose.

E che videro, a guisa d'un smeriglio,
Levar Bajardo sopra gli elementi
Con quell' armato, appena si credero
Che tal miracol potesse esser vero.

Non avete voi letto che Perseo
Figliuol di Danae ebbe un cavallo alato,
Qual poi diè il nome al monte Pegaseo,
Che per l'aria il portava essendo armato?
Or se questo tal prova al mondo feo,
Maraviglia non è se lo affatato
Bajardo, con un salto oltra le mura
Portò Ivonetto carco d'armatura.

Creder si vuol, poichè Turpin l' ha scritto,
Autor che non suol mai scriver bugia,
Ma sempre colla penna solcar dritto,
Da Euterpe accompagnato e da Talia;
Ed io con quella fede ve l'ho ditto,
Con la qual credo che ciò stato sia. c. xxxvi.

Ivonetto arrives at a place where there was a shepherd sleeping. He gives something to eat to Bajardo, and refreshes himself. All the Paladins follow Ivonetto, and Orlando overtakes him. Bajardo, however, flies away from the Count, who loses his sword, Durindana, in pursuing the steed, which, after all, returns to Ivonetto, who picks up Durindana. Astolfo, being on the same errand of overtaking Ivonetto, passes by a palace, where he hears people singing and playing within, so that he enters into it; but as soon as he has entered, the gate disappears. The poor Paladin is much grieved at this, as it reminds him of the cave where he had been fasting with Fulvia and Orlando. Almost all the Paladins arrive at this palace. Orlando himself would have entered into it, had he not been attacked by a bear, which he puts to death after a very hard fight, and not before he has lost his horse, which the beast kills.[f] He then departs, on foot, to look for Durindana; and whilst he is praying, he hears a voice telling him, that he will never obtain any favour from heaven, till he has fulfilled the vow, which he made when in the cave, of visiting, as a pilgrim, the church of St. James, in Galicia. He immediately, therefore, assumes the dress of a pilgrim, and sets off. Ivonetto, too, would have entered into that fated palace, had he not been made aware of the danger by Malagigi. He proceeds to perform what he promised when he got

[f] See above, page 18, note r.

the armour which he wore, and succeeds in his undertaking. By his success, the very palace in which the Paladins were kept, disappears, and all the knights who were confined in it are liberated; amongst others, Rinaldo, to whom Ivonetto then discovers himself. Uriella, a fairy who had built the palace, and who was guilty of a great many wicked actions (as is mostly the case with fairies in old times, and witches in our own), was taken prisoner by Ivonetto, who brings her to Paris. A dragon, which defended her, follows Ivonetto as quietly as a lamb, after his victory, to the great wonder of those who were blessed with that uncommon sight. At Paris the fairy confesses all her tricks, and is devoured by the dragon, which marches direct to hell, whence neither of them ever returned, as far as it is known.

The very last thing that could be imagined was Orlando turning pilgrim; he was therefore thought to be dead; but Grifonetto, who knew how the fact was, undeceived them all, and, determining upon following the Count, in spite of Gano's advice to the contrary, departed with Terigi. An esquire of Astolfo, who, from the horses, suspected one of the party to be Orlando in disguise, informed his master of it. The Duke resolved to go in search of the Paladin, with whom he was very much offended for having set off without taking him in his company. On walking about, he by chance found Durindana in a place where it had been concealed by Ivonetto, and took possession of it. The squire who was to

take care of that precious sword, was so much affected by Astolfo's proceeding, that, after having written on the wall a narrative of the fact, he escaped to a convent, and became a friar. Malagisi undertook to recover Durindana, and Rinaldo went to Montalbano, where he divided the booty given to him by the Emperor among his seven hundred rogues, whom he forbade to rob any longer; an injunction which they all thought very hard; yet, for fear of punishment, they submitted. The persons who had been captured by Rinaldo and his people were set free. The glad tidings of this happy change soon spread so

> Che tutti i mercatanti ritornaro
> Alle lor mercanzie di buon coraggio,
> Udendo che sicuro era il vïaggio. c. XXXVIII.

Orlando by this time had arrived at a river in Spain, on the banks of which was situated a beautiful castle, belonging to one Baleastro, who having lost sight of a beast which he was hunting, found fault with the pilgrim, whom he felt a great wish to throw into the river. Now, Orlando was not at all inclined to submit to this ducking, and remonstrated with all the meekness becoming his dress. But this being of no avail with that impracticable man, he lost patience, and with his staff broke the neck of Baleastro, to the great consolation of his vassals, who hated him because he was a bad lord; a kind of animal which, as the poet observes,

> Diletta molto più morto, che vivo.

Proceeding farther, Orlando destroyed a den of thieves, from whom he delivered one Doria, who tells Orlando a very long tale of his miseries, and accompanies him in his journey.

Astolfo went through Spain, and, having heard of a certain castle where one Gioroante kept in prison several knights, who had boasted that they would perform each of them some difficult enterprise, to obtain his daughter Argonetta, but had not succeeded in fulfilling their promises, determined to go to the place, trusting to Durindana for his success. But he could not accomplish what he had undertaken to do, as the sword was stolen from him, without his being aware of it, by some devils under Malagisi's orders; so that he was imprisoned and ridiculed. His esquire succeeded in escaping, and found this enchanter, who gave him a belt that rendered men invisible,[h] in order that he might go and deliver his master with it. The squire, who seems to have been as giddy as Astolfo, instead of doing this, thinks of taking advantage of the girdle to make free with Argonetta, who, succeeding in possessing herself of it, leaves the silly squire in the hands of her attendants, by whom he was favoured with a good corporal correction. Argonetta wishes to profit by the belt to deliver her brother Andro-

[h] All this story is taken, with very slight variations, from the *Conqueste du Gran Charlemagne*, p. 119. The only important difference is, that according to this romance, in a scuffle, the belt was cut into two, and there was an end of its power.

peo, who was besieged by Marsiglio. Her plan was to poison Marsiglio and the whole court at a solemn banquet; but being discovered, she kills herself in despair, and the girdle returns to its lawful owners. Andropeo still more closely pressed, having no resource left, determines upon trying to escape. He sets fire to the castle, and then makes a desperate sortie, advising his people to behave as Catiline did in his last moments;

> Che pervenuto all' ultima rovina
> E quasi della vita in tutto scemo,
> Mostrava ancor un sì feroce aspetto,
> Che i vivi avean di lui tema e sospetto.[1] C. XLII.

Marsiglio gains the battle at last, but his victory is very dearly bought. He then proceeds to besiege the castle of Gioroante.

Orlando going towards Galicia with other pilgrims, finds a shepherd, who was grinding his Durindana. This proves to be Malagisi who re-

[1] This allusion to Catiline proves that BELLO was not unacquainted with the classical authors. His lines were evidently suggested to him by SALLUST. Postquam fusas copias seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinæ dignitatis in confertissimos hostes incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur. Sed, confecto prælio, tum vero cerneres quanta audacia, quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam ferè quem quisque pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amissa anima, corpore tegebat. Pauci autem quos cohors pretoria disjecerat paulo diversius, sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longè a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi quam habuerat vivus in voltu retinens. *Bel. Catilin.* Glasg. edit. 1751, page 94.

commends Astolfo to him, gives him the sword, and then goes away. The Lord of Anglante destroys a band of rascals, who plundered the pilgrims going to the temple of the Apostle, and then sets off to deliver Astolfo. He meets Grifonetto and Terigi, and, dressing himself like a knight once more, he, being in Granata, hears from Rinaldo's old friend, Polima, that Sinodoro has nearly lost the whole of his kingdom, owing to Grandonio's enmity, who behaved very cruelly to her also. Orlando determines to assist her, and takes Grandonio prisoner. His troops are defeated by Grifonetto who likewise kills Scilarco, one of Grandonio's friends.

Gioroante, not knowing whither Argonetta is gone (he is not aware of her death), and only hearing that she had discovered a mode of rendering herself invisible, orders the squire who brought the belt to be hanged. The squire, to save his life, tells him that the knight, his master, is Astolfo; which Gioroante is delighted to hear, thinking this would be the means of catching Orlando. Marsiglio, who was besieging the fortress of Gioroante, is taken prisoner and threatened with death, if he does not order Biancardino, his general, to raise the siege. But 'the Duke of Lancaster,' one of Marsiglio's followers, will not hear of it, and Biancardino, keeping up a kind of negociation with Gioroante, sends for assistance to Grandonio, who is unhappily found to be himself a prisoner. He had, however, been so kindly treated by Polima and Orlando, that he makes

a sincere peace, and goes to deliver his brother. Instead of freeing Marsiglio he is made prisoner himself by Gioroante who threatens to hang them all, if Biancardino does not surrender immediately. Orlando marches alone to the aid of Astolfo. He meets with an army led by Sinodoro, who comes to help Polima, but he does not think proper to avail himself of their assistance. He only takes Agismandro and Policardo with him, to be better concealed. He then, together with four others, is sent as ambassador to Gioroante. They go with their armour under their cloaks. Being admitted into the presence of this tyrant, a quarrel is excited, and the conclusion is, that Gioroante, his giants and every one else are killed by the five ambassadors, who become masters of the castle. Orlando then goes incognito to the dungeon, where Marsiglio, Grandonio, and all the rest of them, as well as Astolfo, were kept prisoners, and gives them to understand that he is sent there to have them all hanged. As, however, he had no executioner ready, one of them should be spared, but was to hang the others.

Rispose Astolfo: Niun più espedito
Di me si trova a simile esercizio,
Visto che tutti gli altri imprigionati
Son d'un medesmo sangue al mondo nati.

Or dimmi chi tu sei, famoso sire?
Rispose il Conte; e il cugin braveggiando
Incominciò subitamente a dire;
Che parente era, anzi padron d'Orlando,
E che a Rinaldo si facea obbedire;

Così al Danese e agli altri comandando :
E che presso al re Carlo Imperadore
Non si trovava alcun di lui maggiore.

How can so great a lord wish to become hangman? rejoins Orlando.

Io mi farei non boia, ma arciboia,
Rispose Astolfo, per campar la vita ;
Chè io non so sotto il ciel sì bella gioia,
Come l'anima umana al corpo unita. c. XLIV.

A recognition then takes place, as usual; and, as usual, a general peace is concluded. Rinaldo has squandered away his money, and is as poor as ever. His followers want to betake themselves to the old trade of highwaymen; but Malagigi thinks of providing for them. He causes an army of devils to invade France under the appearance of Saracens, who take prisoners all the Paladins, together with the Emperor. They are delivered, however, on the payment of very heavy ransoms (which they put on themselves) to the general of these devils. Rinaldo, then, pretending to come from Montauban, to assist the Emperor, has a mock fight with that archfiend, who had got the ransom money, and who soon gives in, so that his treasure becomes the property of Rinaldo. Then Orlando and Astolfo return to Paris, and are feasted as usual.

The poet now says that he thinks he has done enough in having brought back all the Paladins safely to Paris, and rendered all the Saracens tributaries of the Empire, and particularly the proud Mambriano.

E perchè da costui ho incominciato,
S'el non dispiace a Vostra Signoria,
Io vo' che *Mambrian* sia intitolato
Il libro, ov' è fondata l'opra mia;
Chè simil titol da Turpin gli è dato;
Scrittor famoso, il qual non scriveria
Per tutto l'or del mondo una menzogna,
E chi 'l contrario tien vaneggia e sogna.

This ends the XLV, and last canto of this poem.

The reader who has followed the thread of this analysis will have seen that, up to a certain point, there is a kind of slender connection between the different parts of the poem, which is afterwards broken altogether. It then becomes only a reunion of detached tales, without any relation to each other, except in so far as most of the same actors are before us. When Mambriano has married Carandina, and the Paladins have returned to Paris in triumph, the action, which the poet intended to celebrate, is completed. Mambriano has nothing whatever to do with what follows; and if the last stanza of the poem were placed at the end of the twenty-fifth canto, the story would be more compact and more deserving the name of a poem. As it is, it would be more proper to call it, a collection of eccentric stories in verse.

It has been remarked[k] that the unconnectedness of most of these poems was owing to the circumstance of their having been sung, at distant intervals, to an audience, which was not

[k] See above, page 232.

likely always to consist of the same individuals; to whom, therefore, it could not be a matter of any interest what preceded or what followed the canto which actually engaged their attention. It is evident that the poem of Bello was composed to amuse the courtiers of the Marquess of Mantua, and recited to them at distant intervals, so that the want of connection could not be either discovered, or deemed important, if perceived. The poet opens many of his cantos by saying, that spring, which is coming, invites him to sing. He plainly says that the thirty-fourth canto of his work was composed in winter, and that which follows, in spring. We find him on one occasion alluding to the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France.[m] He then praises this sovereign;[n] and afterwards he alludes to his expedition in a less friendly manner.[o] This is an irrefragable evidence that the poem was recited at periods very distant from each other, and consequently that its unconnectedness could not be of any importance. Bello sang to live, and to amuse his patron; and if he obtained this end, it seems that he had no other anxiety. What the nature of the poem was, which he intended to write, it is difficult to say. Many of the cantos, posterior to the twenty-fifth, might have been introduced like episodes in a more connected composition. Of this, however, we may rest assured, that the *Mambriano*, which

[m] Canto xxiv. [n] Cant. xxxi.
[o] Cant. xxxii.

we now read, is not the poem which Bello had intended to write. He begins the twenty-first canto by saying, that he had scarcely arrived at the end of one third of the journey.[p] His poem was, therefore, to be about sixty cantos. On perusing the *Mambriano* attentively, the poet appears to sink, after the first twenty cantos. Possibly these were already written when he went to Mantua, in hopes of being able to live at the expence of his patron, and to employ himself in writing a poem, which might be honourable to his fame. But probably his master refused to support him, if he did not contribute to his lordship's amusement; so that the poet, between the love of bread and the love of glory, was obliged to prefer the former. He thus wrote, not for fame, but to gratify a patron; and the tales which are now stitched together, under the name of *Mambriano*, served this end better than a connected poem would have done, and were at the same time more easily composed. Bello did not publish the poem himself. Conosciuti says, that the poet intended to add a few stanzas at the beginning, and to dedicate the book to the Cardinal of Este, but that he was prevented by death. He was, therefore, engaged upon it till he died; and who can tell what additions he would have made to it?

It is, however, probable that Bello would not

[p] Non più riposo, o dolce mia Camena,
Sollecita l'ingegno che cammini,
Chè al terzo della via siam giunti appena,
E in nui già par che la virtù declini.

have been able to raise his reputation very high, as a romance poet, in the country of BOJARDO and ARIOSTO; had he even bestowed on the poem all the care of which he was capable. The most connected of his cantos are but an inartificial narrative, not destitute of poetical ornaments, yet not poetically planned. There is never any serious difficulty on the part of the Christians; the subject is entirely void of either grandeur or interest; the episodes are liable to the same objections. In spite of the tales, and of these episodes themselves, a mortal monotony pervades the whole work. The plots are so plain that no curiosity is excited; nor is the attention of the reader kept alive in the expectation of some agreeable surprise.[q]

The characters are singularly deficient. Mambriano is a mixture of cruelty, baseness, ferocity and folly, such as are seen in savages of the most ordinary character. His brutal strength is not enough to give importance to his party, and how can a poem possess any grandeur, when its interest depends only on the victory which the favorite party is to obtain over such a man? Car-

[q] ZENO says, that if BELLO had found a continuator of ARIOSTO's merit, he would not be less known than BOJARDO. This is a speculative opinion, to which the other, that he would not be so known, even if his poem had been continued by ARIOSTO, may be deemed a sufficient answer. When he adds that BELLO's style is as good as that of BOJARDO, and his invention and plan not altogether bad, ZENO seems to be mistaken as for the style, and the words which he uses speaking of the plan of the *Mambriano* are scarcely strong enough. *Not. al* FONTANINI, vol. i. p. 274. Edit. of Parma.

miniano is meant to represent a faithful councillor, and vassal: yet he is but a secondary character of a very inferior order. Sinodoro, Timocrate and the rest are very honest fellows in their way; of that homely honesty which is excellent in real life, but the merit of which is lost in a fictitious composition. It seems pretty clear, that the poet intended that some tender attachment should exist between Bradiamante and Sinodoro; for which indeed he prepares the reader. The idea is, however, all at once abandoned, as if he had forgotten it. This lady, Charlemagne, Orlando, Rinaldo, &c. display the usual *bonhommie*, bravery, love of plunder, &c. which distinguish them generally in all the romances; but in the *Mambriano* these several qualities are very tamely put forward. The blows which the Paladins deal in, are very heavy to be sure: but they are so in more senses than one. Carandina is not badly drawn: but she is so disgustingly profligate, and her vices stare us so boldly in the face; we see them so fully, and without any disguise, that we cannot be pleased with her. She is too shamefully impudent, even for a *coquette*.

Astolfo is by far the best character of Bello; he is as merry, as droll, and as quaint as ever: he acts consistently throughout, and is always a gentleman, wild, silly, fool-hardy; but never disgraced by any despicable vice, never low, nor vulgar, nor cowardly, nor false. When he speaks of his own deeds, he tells his stories in very good faith; he is so strongly impressed with the

idea of being brave, that he believes he is capable of doing wonders; and substituting what he is thoroughly satisfied he can do, for what he actually did, honestly deceives others, because he begins with deceiving himself. He cheerfully meets any danger with rashness, rather than with courage; and he does so, not on account of any good, which may arise from it, but because he thinks that a knight's first duty is to fight. He courts as many ladies as he meets with, not because he feels a strong affection for any, but because he considers it unknightly not to be gallant to the fair. This character, attributed to Astolfo by all romancers, is particularly well coloured by Bello.

If this poet has not shown great and vigorous genius in the two most important constituent parts of a poem, he is particularly deserving praise for the talent which he has displayed in the embellishments of his work. His language is not what is called pure by pedants, and it has the original sin of being full of *Lombardisms*, but it is plain and unaffected. His verses are sometimes languid and negligent; but at other times he manifests very great tact in the masterly harmony with which he animates them. We must recollect that he never published his poem as finished, and that it was never well edited. In those embellishments, which indicate a lively fancy and a rich imagination, Bello is superior to many poets, who, are more known and praised than himself. In his descriptions and comparisons, we often desire a

more correct turn of expression, or a more polished versification, but we are generally pleased with the vivacity of the images, which are frequently both new and elegant.

It is unnecessary to refer the reader to the stanzas with which the analysis is interspersed, and some of which show the merits of Bello. Occasionally he breaks forth into some half jocular observations, delivered in a solemn manner, which strongly contrasts with their quaintness, and are hence highly humourous. In this, as in many other embellishments, Ariosto stands alone; but Bello sometimes approaches that inimitable model. One stanza will be sufficient as a specimen of his manner in this respect. In the midst of a story which begins very sadly, the poet turns to his hearers, promising them that all will be well at last, and that the conclusion will be such as they desire. The story is a tale of Love; and upon this the poet, taking up warmly the defence of this too often abused deity, says:

> Hushed be those serpent-tongues that speak such scorn [r]
> Of Cupid, and are wonted to relate,
> All his beginnings end in ill; and warn
> The world by Thisbe's and Leander's fate.

---

[r] Tacciano alfine quelle serpentine
Lingue, che soglion sì biasmar Cupido,
E dir che ogni suo inizio ha tristo fine,
Tisbe allegando, e'l giovine d'Abido.

The rose is never plucked without the thorn;
And if within that Prince's palace gate
Be echoed any foul and evil bruit,
To lovers, not to Love, the fault impute.

W. S. Rose.

The principal objection to Bello is his coarseness, and his low and vulgar phrases and expressions. The fault, however, is not in fairness to be attributed to him entirely: his age and his audience are more to be blamed than himself; and the audience a great deal more than the age. It is not to be forgotten, to the honor of Bello, that his poem was perused with attention by Ariosto. Proofs of this fact will be found in the *Orlando Furioso* itself; and will be pointed out in their proper place.

A promise was made in a former part of this volume,[8] that a comparison should be instituted between Boccaccio and Chaucer, with regard to a description, which has likewise engaged the attention of Bello, and is one of the best ornaments of his poem. In seeing this promise fulfilled, the reader will, it is expected, find reason to regret that Bello has not turned to a better account the powerful talents which he possessed, and of which the description, here alluded to, will afford undeniable evidence.

E' non si còglion rose senza spine:
E se si sente qualche orribil grido
Per l'alma corte di questo Signore,
La colpa è degli amanti, e non d'Amore. c. xxii.

[8] See above, page 177.

The *Teseide* of Boccaccio being intended to be an epic poem, the author has endeavoured to embellish it with such ornaments, as his study of the classics, and the magnificience of such composition, led him to conceive as proper and necessary to its perfection. When he imagines that Arcita and Palemone address their several prayers to their favourite Deities, Boccaccio has indulged in a splendid description of the temples of these Gods. To accomplish this, he, in imitation of Homer, personifies the prayer of Arcita and Palemone, and fancies each of the prayers, thus personified, going to the abode of the God of War and of the Goddess of Love, which he describes. Chaucer, not to lose the occasion of introducing something of the same kind, has imagined that in the lists built by Theseus, where the battle between Arcite and Palamon was to take place, three temples were erected, one to Mars, the other to Venus and a third to Diana.[t] The original of Boccaccio is to be found in the *Thebaide* of Statius, as far as regards the temple of Mars, which is described, on Mercury being sent to the abode of that God by Jupiter. In Statius, Mercury is supposed really to see, what, in part, Boccaccio has been obliged to suppose painted; and Chaucer describes nothing, but what is painted on the walls of the temples. This alone

[t] Emilia addresses her prayer to Diana, even according to Boccaccio, but no particular description of the Goddess' dwelling occurs.

necessarily puts the poets in very different situations. STATIUS describes what he fancies really existing: it is a copy from nature; in the other two, more particularly in CHAUCER, it is the description of a description; a second-hand copy.[u]

The description of BOCCACCIO is a mere version from STATIUS; at least the variations are of a very trifling nature: but it is the version of a poet, fully equal to do justice to his original; and this will be admitted by any one, who knows and feels the beauties of both languages. CHAUCER has followed BOCCACCIO, and adopted some of his alterations; as, for instance, the two or three verses describing the kind of wood, in which the Temple of Mars was situated, and its bareness. He has, moreover, added something of his own. Some of the additions are condemned even by TYRWHITT;[v] others are, perhaps, out of

[u] Compare STATIUS, *Thebaid.* vii. 34 & seq. BOCCACCIO, *Teseide*, vii. 29, & seq. CHAUCER, *Cant. Tal.* v. 1977, & seq. In the Milan edition of the *Teseide*, mentioned above, page 162, several erroneous readings have been preferred to those correctly adopted by the Ferrara edition, which agree with STATIUS. For instance, st. 33, 'Impeti *delle menti*,' instead of 'Impeti *dementi*' (Impetus *amens*); & st. 34, '*aguti* ferri,' instead of '*occulti* ferri' (*occultisque* ensibus).

[v] The pikepurse . . . . .
The sow freting the child . . . .
The coke yscalled, for all his long ladel.

In all editions, except TYRWHITT's, is to be found,

The barbour, and the bocher, and the smith,

which that editor has changed into

place; or, to speak more properly, are not peculiarly and solely adapted to the situation in which they are placed by the poet. STATIUS and BOCCACCIO, who described the reality, could well say,

> . . . . Crepat aures grandine multa
> Palla . . . . .
> Innumeris strepit aula minis.
> . . . . . .
> Vi si sentia grandissimo rumore.
> . . . . . .
> S'udien tutti que' luoghi strepenti
> D'aspre minacce.

Is it equally proper, in speaking of a painting to say,

> . . . Ther ran a romble and a swough,
> As though a storme should bresten every bough,
> . . . . . .
> All full of chirking was that sory place?

The author of the *Mambriano* has given a description of the abode of Mars, superior even to that of STATIUS, from whom the conception is undoubtedly borrowed. Scarcely any thing, but the idea of describing such an abode, is not original in the *Mambriano:* the description itself is altogether original, and does honor to the poet. It is naturally connected with his poem. For reasons

Th' armerer, and the bowyer, and the smith.

The first alteration is made on the authority of two MSS., and the second from conjecture only. In CHAUCER'S time, *barbers* were *surgeons*; and, perhaps, *barbour* is the true reading. *Bocher*, that is *butcher*, is, it seems, more likely to be the correct word. After having said *armerer*, why should CHAUCER have said *bowyer* and *smith?* And does not *smith* mean *armerer* here?

already assigned, Orlando goes to the temple of Mars,[w] which he finds as follows.

Not formed of quarried stone by human art
This fabrick was, like others here below;
But made of plates of iron, dim and swart,
From fires that Vulcan and his meiny blow.
No garlands decked the frieze; but murderous dart,
Buckler, and bolt, and arbalast, and bow.
Fit preface to the rest, in sculpture, Hate
And Discord frowned above that temple's gate.

In act of menace, Pride between the twain
Was seen; and behind Hate was hidden Fear,
Pallid in face she was and pined with pain.
Above this did another shape appear:
Bloated this other was in every vein,
And you her nature and her name shall hear:
Ambition is she hight, and evermore
In sayings is she rich, in doings poor.[x]

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[w] See above, page 310 and 326.

[x] Questo non era composto di pietre,
Come son gli altri edifici terrestri,
Ma di lastre di ferro oscure e tetre,
Al qual sudò Vulcan con più maestri.
Le sue ghirlande eran archi e faretre,
Saette, dardi, targoni e balestri.
Sopra le porte, per più belle esordia,
Eran scolpiti l'Odio e la Discordia.

Fra costor stava il minacciante Orgoglio,
E dietro all' Odio ascosta la Paura
Pallida in vista e piena di cordoglio.
Di sopra a questi era un altra figura
Tutta gonfiata, il cui nome vi voglio
Descriver, e mostrar la sua natura:
Ambizïon costei chiamar si suole,
Pov'ra di fatti, e ricca di parole.

Her head she rears than every hill more high;
With others' honours oft herself doth crown;
Envy is ever in her company;
And Hatred never from her side is gone.
Roland, who gazed with an unwearied eye
Upon these wonders, being stopt by none,
Entered the fane; and throned on iron car,
(Unless I err) espied the God of war.

Flapping her pinions, Fame before him goes;
Anger and Fury, following in her rear,
Accompanied withal by countless woes,
As issuing from the temple's gate appear;
And fires and bolts the furious couple sows.
After came Baseness, fast embraced by Fear,
Who seeing fire and sword on every side
Would fly; but finds no place wherein to hide.

Promptness, Imprudence, Sloth, Audacity,
Cruelty, Pride, Fraud, Malice, violent Wrong,

Il capo estolle sopra ogni montagna;
Dell' onor d'altri spesso s'incorona;
E in secreto e in palese l'accompagna
L'Invidia; e l'Odio mai non l'abbandona.
Orlando, che a veder non si sparagna,
Non essendo impedito da persona,
Entrò nel tempio; e vide, s' io non erro,
Marte assettato sopra un car di ferro.

La Fama innanzi al car battendo l'ali
Volava; e dietro a lei l'Ira e 'l Furore
Accompagnati da infiniti mali
Parea che di quel tempio uscisser fuore
Spargendo incendi e seminando strali.
Poi la Viltà abbracciata col Timore,
Vedendo da ogni canto ferro e fuoco
Volean fuggire, e non trovavan loco.

Prontezza, Audacia, Tardità e Imprudenza,
Superbia, Crudeltà, Fraude, e Malizia,

Impudence, Plots, Sedition, Treachery
And Lies about the Godhead's chariot throng;
Who, in that boisterous triumph, forcibly
Behind them captive Justice drag along,
Down-trodden by the greater part and bruised
Beneath their feet; scarce seen, and seldom used.

Behind them Death and Fortune came, who rode
Upon one wheel: a mein now glad, now low,
Now kind, now proud, now bright, now black, one showed,
Promising glory now, now threatening woe.
That other, with whom Pity ne'er abode,
To wit her comrade Death, with ceaseless blow
Of her exterminating scythe aye slew
Now this, now that of the surrounding crew.

Sorrow came after that last multitude,
Among whom were the wounded all descried:
Infinite Torments, and a mighty brood
Of Miseries, compassed them on every side.

Insidie, Tradimenti e Vïolenza,
Sedizïon, Menzogne, e Impudicizia
Circuivan il car; con gran gran veemenza
Strascinandosi dietro la Giustizia,
Dalla più parte oppressa e calpestata,
Vista da pochi e rare volte usata.

Dietro costor seguian Morte, e Fortuna
Sopra una ruota, or lieta or lagrimante,
Or benigna, or superba, or chiara, or bruna
Or promittente gloria, or minacciante;
Quell' altra di pietà sempre digiuna,
Cioè la Morte, con la sua estirpante
Falce, non s'arrestava di colpire,
Facendo or questo or quell' altro morire.

L'ultima compagnia seguiva il Pianto,
Nella qual si vedean tutti i feriti;
Calamità e Miseria da ogni canto
Gli accompagnava, e Tormenti infiniti.

Blood-boltered this, and that yet dropping blood;
By every Ill, no Good accompanied
They were; them many churls with brandished spade
Pursued, and hungry dogs behind them bayed.

W. S. Rose.

It may be proper to observe that here every thing is suitably introduced: the images are mostly original, and some of them grand: the style is not unworthy of the subject: the personification of ambition is well conceived and equally well executed: the description of the attendants on the chariot of Mars is vigorous, new, and highly poetical: the distribution of the crowd of beings, which precede, surround, and follow the chariot, is judicious, true, and in good taste. Fame preceding the chariot; Ire and Fury spreading fire; Cowardice and Fear embraced and in vain trying to hide themselves, not knowing which way to go: all kind of Evils and Crimes dragging Justice along; the miserable consequences of war so beautifully depicted in the rapid passage from the buoyancy of the first stanzas to the sullen melancholy of the last; the sudden contrast thus offered between the bold violence of the beginning with the calamities described in the end, where finally we are struck with the sight of the brave warriors now destroyed by wretched plunderers and dogs: all this

Chi spargea 'l sangue, e chi l'avea già spanto;
D'ogni ben privi, e d'ogni mal forniti
Eran costoro; e da molti villani
Perseguitati con zappe e con cani. c. xi.

is eminently well conceived, and touches our fancy more strongly than anything which we read in any of the other poets above-mentioned, who all seem tame and unequal to the awful subject, when compared with the grand manner of Bello.

Such was the state of romantic narrative poetry in Italy when the immortal work of Ariosto appeared in 1516. Of this writer or his works no mention will here be made, for the reasons already given.[y] It was, indeed, intended that this *Essay* should close here, for it would be preposterous to suppose, that the reader can take any interest in the critical history of the numberless romantic poems, which succeeded that of Ariosto, most of which are deservedly forgotten, and all of which are insignificant in comparison with the *Furioso*. It has, however, been deemed proper to give a very short notice of three more of these works, on account of their peculiarities. The *Amadigi* of Bernardo Tasso deserves to be mentioned as, unquestionably, the best romantic narrative poem amongst those not founded on the traditions respecting Charlemagne. The *Rinaldo* of T. Tasso cannot be passed over in silence, out of respect for its author; and the *Ricciardetto* of Fortiguerri will be slightly alluded to, both on account of its eccentricities, and because it is the last, in a chronological order, of that series of poems, which, for about three hundred years, were composed in Italy on romanesque subjects.

[y] See above, page 302.

I shall not enter into any particulars respecting the life of BERNARDO TASSO. In his younger years he was passionately in love with GINEVRA MALATESTA, who was afterwards married to one OBIZZI. Upon that marriage BERNARDO TASSO wrote a sonnet, of which RUSCELLI, a cotemporary man of letters of some name, speaks as follows: 'this sonnet is known throughout Italy; and wherever I have been during a great many years, I have found few elegant minds of either sex who did not know it by heart.' The sonnet is here inserted both in English and in Italian; and were the translation without the name of the distinguished Lady who has been so kind as to allow these pages to be embellished by her versions, no reader of taste would be at a loss to discover from whose pen the English lines proceeded. It was necessary to have felt the spirit of PETRARCA, to render such full justice to this composition.

SINCE of the part less perfect—less divine,[z]
Whose morning bloom is doomed ere night to fade,
One born beneath a happier star be made
Th' exulting lord—no longer to be mine!
O take not from me—bid me not resign
The soul! that on my willing spirit laid

---

[z] Poichè la parte men perfetta e bella,
Che al tramontar d'un dì perde il suo fiore,
Mi toglie il cielo, e fanne altrui signore,
Ch' ebbe più amica e graziosa stella;
Non mi negate voi l'alma, che ancella
Fece la vista mia del suo splendore:

A holier bondage—by itself repaid—
Theme of my song in each impassioned line.
I loved the beauty subject to decay,
But as the image of the immortal mind,
Pure effluence of Heaven's purest ray!
Mine, mine be this! let him the mortal hold!
For, to my love, by chastened thought refined,
Poor meed were deemed the perishable mould.

LADY DACRE.

Many other of the lyrical compositions of B. TASSO are in praise of Ginevra Malatesta, whom he often celebrates under the allegory of the *Ginebro*, or *Ginepro*, on account of her name. To her he dedicated the whole of the first volume of his amatory lyrics, and praised her highly in his *Amadigi*. Yet she was not the only object of his affection.

There lived in Italy, in TASSO's time, a distinguished lady, who, both on account of the poet's affection for her, and of her having written a romanesque narrative poem, deserves that a few words should be bestowed upon her. This lady was TULLIA d'ARAGONA, an illegitimate daughter of the Cardinal Pietro Tagliavia, of the sovereign house of Aragon. Some writers assert that TUL-

Quella parte più nobile e migliore,
Di cui la lingua mia sempre favella.
Amai questa beltà caduca e frale,
Come immagin dell' altra eterna e vera,
Che pura scese da più puro cielo.
Questa sia mia; e d'altri l'ombra e il velo;
Chè al mio amore, a mia fè salda ed intera,
Poca mercè saria premio mortale.

LIA was born at Rome, others at Naples; she seems to have died at Florence, whither she retired when her devotion, which kept increasing with her years, after she had passed the meridian of life, rendered her inclined to solitude. This lady, when less bigoted, was a kind of syren. To a most beautiful person she united the most refined manners, and the most accomplished mind. Neither the sweetness of her voice, nor her skill in music was ever equalled; and whether she spoke in earnest or in jest, no one surpassed her in eloquence, wit, and grace. Her poetry is not above mediocrity, but if any coquette, as young, handsome and accomplished as TULLIA, were to write in our days lines like hers, the hearts of the sternest reviewers would be touched, and their eyes dazzled. In her retirement, when fatigued with the world, (or, as some say, when the world was tired of her) she wrote a poem in forty-five cantos, called *Guerino il Meschino.* Guerino is a hero highly celebrated in an old Italian prose romance, known under the same name. In this poem she boasted of the most rigid morality, and, in fact, *Guerino* is a very well behaved youth. The poetess, to give relief to his austere qualities, puts them to a most extraordinary test; and both to show off the morality of the knight in resisting, and her own skill in pourtraying the temptations which he could withstand, she indulges in a description, the freedom of which singularly contrasts with the moral professions of the authoress.

Although TULLIA could paint a hero like Zenocrates, she has been formally accused by several of her contemporaries, and in very plain words, of having given herself up to the most immoral life. MUZIO, a poet of the same age, who appears to have been her favourite, says with great *naïveté*, that although all the poets of those days loved her, they were not either envious or jealous;[a] so great was the skill of the lady and the good faith of the gentlemen.

Oh gran bontà de' cavalieri antiqui!

In a comedy printed at Florence in 1560,[b] she is said to have been *(è stata)* a very immoral woman. The word used is as low and expressive as any the Italian language offers. She was in favour at the court of Tuscany; and although the past tense may be employed, speaking of a woman *of a certain age*, as being, with regard to the vanities of this world, dead; yet it

[a] Dameta (that is MUZIO himself) says:

Tirsi, non ha veduto il secol nostro
Pastor, ch' io creda, alcun, che d'alcun pregio
Abbia colto ghirlanda in Elicona,
Che, s'ha lei vista, e se gli accenti suoi
Ha nell' alma raccolti, tale ardore
Non abbia conceputo, che il suo ingegno
N' ha poi fuor dimostrati ardenti segni.
Nè tra color giammai si vide o udio
Che ne nascesse invidia o gelosia.

Tirrenia.

[b] RAZZI, *la Balia*, quoted by MAZZUCHELLI in the biography of TULLIA.

cannot be conceived that RAZZI would have dared to say of her what he has said, had she been still alive in 1560. It was in that year only that TASSO printed his *Amadigi*, which will explain why no mention of TULLIA is made in that poem where so many other ladies are praised.[c]

[c] TULLIA D'ARAGONA, as has been already observed by GINGUENÉ, is the person introduced by SPERONI, in his *Dialogo d' Amore*, to argue, so cleverly and so impudently, on the subject. The annotator of that dialogue in SPERONI's works, as well as CORNIANI, evidently did not know who the *Tullia* was, who takes such a share in that licentious conversation. She was introduced as one of the interlocutors, because she had studied the subject deeply; practically, as was well known to all those who were acquainted with her; and theoretically, as may be gathered from a dialogue written by her *Della infinità d' amore*. In SPERONI's dialogue, she is made to say, that B. TASSO has praised TULLIA in his verses; and although there is no composition of that poet addressed to TULLIA D' ARAGONA by name, yet several lyric pieces to a *Royal Lady* must be intended for her. It is moreover certain, that TASSO wrote of her in poetry, as is positively asserted by MUZIO in the *Tirrenia*.

Per lei fatt' anco ha risonare i boschi
Colui, che sceso dagli alpestri gioghi,
Onde discendon l' acque ai lieti paschi
De' pastori d'Insubria, in sulle sponde
Del re de' fiumi fè il suo nome chiaro,
Cantando all' ombra d'un umil Ginebro.

Gli alpestri gioghi here spoken of, are the mountains of Bergamo, of which city B. TASSO was a native; and the *Ginebro* in the last line alludes to the love of TASSO for GINEVRA MALATESTA already mentioned. Having had occasion to mention that several cotemporary ladies are praised in the *Amadigi*, it will perhaps afford some gratification to see in

B. Tasso was a long time in the service of the Prince of Salerno, Ferrante Sanseverino, who

what manner the poet speaks both of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth of England.

Sol quelle due, di cui dal lido Moro,
All' onde Rosse fia celebre il nome,
Basterà ben ch' io le ti esalti e nome.

La di maggior età, che'n testa porta
Corona d'or di molte gemme ornata,
Ritornerà dalla fallace e torta
Strada, alla dritta e vera; e la svïata
Gente, all' usata Fede: e saggia e scorta,
(Sendo del padre e del fratello orbata)
Per lasciar al suo regno un successore
Di real sangue e d' inclito valore,

Di Carlo Quinto Imperador Romano
(Della cui gloria andrà la fama e'l grido,
Non sol dal Caspio mare all' Africano,
Ma dall' Eusino all' Iperboreo lido)
Prenderà il figlio, gran Prencipe Ispano,
Dell' onor e de' regni erede fido
Del Padre eccelso, per consorte degno,
Dandogli in dote di Britannia il regno.

L' altra è la sua sorella Elisabetta,
D' infinito valor, d' animo invitto;
Degna d' esser di re sì grande detta
Figliuola; cui ha il Ciel lieto prescritto
Quanto di bene a cara alma diletta
Diede giammai. XI. 29—31.

These extravagant praises were dictated to Tasso by his desire of recovering the good graces of the Spanish monarch. He made the utmost exertions to obtain this end: he not only sent to King Philip II. a handsome copy of his poem, but he had even the meanness to ask that king's pardon, and

treated him with liberality. It was at the suggestion of this Lord, of Luigi Davila, and of Francesco Toledo, that TASSO undertook to write his poem; and the Prince of Salerno insisted upon the author employing the *ottava rima*, instead of blank-verse, as he originally intended. He married *Porzia Rossi*, by whom he had a son, TORQUATO, whose reputation has been the greatest enemy of BERNARDO's fame. On his master being outlawed as a rebel, B. TASSO, who had faithfully followed him, was involved by a most iniquitous proceeding in the same misfortune, and becoming an exile, lost all his property. From the effects of this blow he never recovered. He lived in want the remainder of his life, and died governor of a small town called Ostiglia, belonging to the Duke of Mantua, on the fourth of September, 1569, in his seventy-sixth year.[d]

The prominent qualities of TASSO's poetry are softness and sweetness of versification. He knew it; and, on hearing that his son TORQUATO was rising very high in reputation, is reported to have said: 'My son will surpass me in learning, but will never equal me in sweetness.' BERNARDO TASSO

to confess himself guilty of the gravest and most detestable crime (in following his master Sanseverino). See *Amadigi*, XCIII. 3. Neither his prayers, nor the present of the book were ever noticed by the Spanish sovereign, or by his government: which is a good lesson to exiles not to disgrace themselves with a conduct so base, indulging vain hopes of mercy from persons who despise justice.

[d] He was born November 11th, 1493.

is very pathetic at times, and always rich in brilliant thoughts. The faults most remarkable in his poems, generally speaking, are an affected use of flowery images, and figurative diction, both excessively refined and employed with profusion. These faults, coupled with a too sententious display of philosophical maxims, sometimes new, and always ingeniously expressed, but seldom spontaneously introduced, are also to be observed in his letters.

Bernardo Tasso is said to have been the inventor of the Italian Ode in imitation of the Latins, and I have chosen one of these poems for insertion in this place, which will give a fair specimen of his merits. It is not, perhaps, one of his best; but it is more touching than others, owing to the allusion to his real misfortunes, which he felt very deeply, and with which an exile sympathises more than a reader under different circumstances. The version of this lyrical composition is owing to the courtesy of a gentleman, whose merits are well known in works of greater importance. The favour of the present translation is enhanced by the circumstance of its author having turned his attention to it, from the spirited labour in which he is now engaged of rendering the *Iliad* into English, and of which some beautiful specimens have just appeared.[e]

[e] *The first Book of the Iliad; the parting of Hector and Andromache; and the Shield of Achilles. Specimens of a new version of Homer.* London, Murray, 1830.

His seed now sown, th' o'erwearied hind [f]
Trusts to the furrow'd earth
The joyful promise of its future birth,
And to gay Hope's enchanting dreams resign'd
Gathers the golden ear—the harvest of his mind.

But haply if in after day
He sees the garner'd grain,
Destin'd his wife and children to sustain,
And Famine's gnawing violence allay,
By fire or hostile force swept off at once away;

If then bleak winds untimely blow,
And winter's freezing blast
On earth its icy fetters cast,
How shall he stay the tears that inly flow,
Or with calm reason curb ungovernable woe?

His loss all powerless to repair,
How trust the distant hour,

---

[f] Il povero villan che ha sparso il seme
Nel suo campo fecondo,
E già, lieto e giocondo,
Scorta alla riva la sua fida speme,
Di nullo tempo rio paventa, o teme;

Se poi si vede il già raccolto frutto,
Onde le lunghe brame
Della pallida fame
Saziar sperava de' figliuoli, tutto
Da nimico furore arso e distrutto;

E scorge da vicin l'orrido verno,
Che riversa dal cielo
Ognor la neve e'l gelo,
Non possendo far schermo al duolo interno
Alla ragion di sè toglie il governo;

E disperato di poter giammai
Ristorar il suo danno,

And the slow season's fluctuating pow'r?
Forlorn of hope, the victim of despair,
With loud lamenting fills the far-resounding air.

Yet, when he views his faithful wife,
And uncomplaining child,
Who gazes on his face as tho' he smil'd,
He too forgets Fate's unrelenting strife,
And peace, that cheers his heart, seems to relumine life.

I, too, where raging storms prevail,
'Mid changeful seas, astray,
Who plough'd with daring keel my dangerous way,
And now, in Fate's despite, had furl'd the sail,
And gain'd the sheltering shore, nor fear'd an adverse gale;

And, when my anchor bit the ground,
When fix'd my cable fast,
And, fraught with wealth, my vessel past,

Perchè i frutti dell' anno
Futuro, incerti, e son lontani assai,
Assorda il ciel di dolorosi lai.

Pur con la vista della casta moglie
E della famigliuola
Amata, si consola;
Chè la presenza sua talor gli toglie
Una gran parte dell' acerbe doglie.

Ed io, che quasi ardito peregrino
Solcando varii mari
Con venti ognor contrari,
Malgrado del furor d' empio destino
Era già giunto al fin del mio cammino;

E con l'ancore salde, e col ritorto
Canape, la mia barca
Di ricche merci carca,

Where, fearless of the ocean's threat'ning sound,
In the still port I moor'd, and all was peace around :

On sudden, from o'erclouded heav'n,
On that smooth sea serene,
Rush'd furious down a whirlwind unforeseen,
And, with my anchor lost, and cable riv'n,
I 'mid the world's rude storms again was backwards driven :

Back to the world's o'erwhelming wave,
Where never truce nor peace
Deigns yield the woe-worn sufferer release,
Nor from the wreck the wealth and vessel save,
But hides them in th' abyss—th' oblivion of the grave.

But, there are griefs that more obscure
The darkness of my day;—
That beauteous Form is far away,
That Column on whose strength I leant secure,
And 'mid our love's fair fruits could every woe endure.

Senza temer del mar oltraggio, o torto,
Avea legato nel securo porto;

Da non prevvista e subita tempesta
Di vento disleale,
Che la vita mortale
Col fiero orgoglio suo turba e molesta,
Disciolto il legno, fui respinto in questa

Onda del mondo misero e fallace.
Così fuor del mio nido
Mi tolse il flutto infido,
Che non osserva mai tregua nè pace,
Le merci e'l legno con la man rapace.

E ciò che più i miei giorni oscuri e neri
Rende, la cara Donna,
Ferma e salda colonna
Ov' appoggiar soleva i miei pensieri,
E i pegni del mio amor securi e veri

They live—but 'neath another clime,
Ah!—Fate's severest blow!
Who in this dire extremity of woe,
That clouds the sunshine of life's golden prime,
Can soothe me when I bow beneath the weight of time?

Who, in this lone, this exile land,
Should Death, to pierce my heart,
Lance, with fell aim, th' inevitable dart,
Will close my sightless eye with tender hand,
And, weeping o'er my corse, in speechless anguish stand?

Who shall assuage life's bitterest woes,
Who print, when fails the breath,
On the unanswering lip the kiss of death,
With lingering look the pomp funereal close,
And bid in hallow'd earth my soul in peace repose?

In mercy cease, relentless Fate!
Thou canst not wound me more.

Vivon sott' altro cielo; ahi dura sorte!
Ahi meschino! chi fia,
Che in questa pena ria
E più d'ogni altra cruda, mi conforte?
E s' avverrà che la spietata morte

In quest' esiglio mio lungo e gravoso,
Il fiero strale scocchi,
Chi chiuderà questi occhi?
Chi fia del mio morir tanto pietoso,
Che 'l morto viso, mesto e sospiroso

Bagni d'amaro e lagrimoso umore?
E chi nella partita
Della misera vita
Mi darà i baci estremi, e con dolore
Farà le pompe del funereo onore?

Pon omai freno all'ostinato orgoglio
Fato crudele e duro,

Now a faint gleam of transient peace restore ;
No rock am I, no alp that tow'rs elate :
Mine is a heart of flesh, and sinks beneath its weight.

W. SOTHEBY.

The *Amadigi di Francia* of BERNARDO TASSO is divided into one hundred cantos, and is taken from the most beautiful of ancient prose romances[g] the *Amadis de Gaula*, written in Spanish, as it is generally believed, by the Portuguese VASCO LOBEIRA before 1300.[h] It was a most popular book in Italy about the middle of the sixteenth century, owing probably to the conquest of that country by Charles V. The Jesuit POSSEVINO, contemporary of B. Tasso[i] being much enraged with the popularity of the romanesque stories prevalent in his days, went so far as to assert, speaking of the *Amadis*, 'that the devil instigated Luther to procure a translation of Amadis from Spanish into French,[k] for the purpose of facili-

Ch' io non son saldo muro
Che possa, nè sassosa alpe, nè scoglio,
All' impeto durar del mio cordoglio.

[g] T. TASSO, *Discor. del Poem. Eroic.* lib. ii. CERVANTES. *Don Quixote*, part i. c. vi.

[h] WARTON, *Hist. of Eng. Poet.* vol. i. p. 152. We must not, however, believe that the language of the *Amadis*, as we now read it, is as old as is here asserted. The work was corrected and revised about the beginning of the sixteenth century by one MONTALVO ; and who knows what alterations he took the liberty of making in the original ?

[i] He was born in 1534 and died in 1612.

[k] A Frenchman of old would have protested against this

tating his grand scheme of overthrowing the catholic religion. The popularity of this book, he adds, warped the minds of the French nation from their ancient notions and studies; introduced a neglect of the Scriptures, and propagated a love for astrology and other fantastic arts'.[1] That Possevino dreamt about Luther having used the *Amadis* as a means of propagating the reformation is clear enough; and the learned Warton proves as

assertion. In the French translation of *Amadis* by d'Herberay, printed in 1555, we read that it is a book,

> Que des Essars, par diligent ouvrage,
> A retourné au son premier langage.

Even Tressan on the authority of Herberay, who quoted a most rare MS. which no body ever saw, pretended that the *Amadis* was originally written in French; but this assertion is perfectly unfounded, with respect, at least, to the genuine *Amadis*; namely, the first four books of the romance known under this name. There are perhaps about eighteen or twenty more books respecting Amadis or his family, the whole of which the Curate and Barber who made that 'donoso y grande escrutinio' in Don Quixote's library, condemned unmercifully to the fire. In the beginning of the fifth book it is said that it was *Amadis*;

> Non celuy qui d'Espaigne autresfois est yssu,
> Mais celuy que la France a n'a guere tyssu.

Here it is admitted that *autresfois* the *Amadis* was imported into France from Spain, and that that which was *tyssu* in France was only the fifth book, and possibly some of the following. The French translations of the sixth, sixteenth, and seventeenth books are said, in the prefaces to them, to be from the Italian.

[1] *Hist. of Eng. Poet.* vol. i. Dissert. iii. page cxci.

clearly that the devil had nothing to do with either Luther or the *Amadis*, although one may guess from his zealous defence of both, that he would not be quite disposed to deny that the devil and Possevino were intimately connected.[m]

Bernardo Tasso called his poem *Amadigi di Francia*, misunderstanding the meaning of *Gaula*, which he thought meant *Gaule*, an opinion received in France itself before Tasso published his poem.[n] It is however a mistake. La Croze decidedly says that the *Amadis* originally came from Wales,[o] and probably such is the fact. *Amadis* was a British name; but the period in which the facts alluded to in the romance are said to have happened is anterior to that of Arthur and the round table.[p] B. Tasso himself admits that the

[m] Possevino was not the only person who fancied that the devil had a hand in the *Amadis*. Luigi Lollio Vescovo di Belluno fu di parere che fosse quest' opera lavoro di un incantatore di Mauritania, che, sotto falso nome di Cristiano, essendo realmente Maomettano e pieno di vanità magiche, lo componesse in lingua antica di Spagna. Quadrio, *Stor. e rag. d'ogni Poesia*, lib. ii. dis. i. c. iii. part vii.

[n] In a letter addressed to King Francis I. of France, and prefixed to the French translation of the fifth book of *Amadis*, it is said: Le roy Perion, regnant en la mesme Gaule où vous commandez.

[o] Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poet.* vol. iv. p. 307, quoted above, page 45. note 9.

[p] Esta tan cruel costumbre e pessima duro hasta la venida del muy vertuoso rey Artur . . . . . Pero muchos reyes regnaron entre el y el rey Lisuarte. *Amadis de Gaula*, lib. i. chap. i.

story was originally written in English[q] and thinks that the translator did not understand the word *Gaules*, which, he says, in English means France. He argues that it must be so, from the circumstance of the wars mentioned between *Gaules* and England in the romance; and thinks that from this *Gaules* (that is France), the heir to the crown of England takes his title. Tasso, however, ought to have known better from Ariosto[r] and from the romance of *Perceforest*,[s] which he certainly has perused, as he is indebted for some stories to it.[t] But setting aside the dreams of B. Tasso, the internal evidence of the *Amadis* proves that it is of Welch origin, and that *Gaula* means Wales. The wars, which are alluded to in this romance, are those which raged so long between England and Wales, and which took place in dark and mythical ages. All its heroes are connected either with England, Scotland, or Ireland. In the *Amadis* the Romans and Saxons, who are united with the English against the Prince of *Gaula*, are presented under the

[q] *Lett.* vol. ii. p. 250 and 429. This was also the opinion of Huet.

[r] *Orl. Fur.* viii. 27 & 28.

[s] Il y avoit autreffois ung beau royaulme . . . . lequel depuis a esté erigé en principauté, qui se baille en tiltre au filz ainé du roy d'Angleterre, qu'on appelle le Prince de Valie ou de Gaulles. Vol. i. p. 2. retr.

[t] The scandalous story of the vermilion sword in the *Amadigi*, c. xxii. st. 20, & seq. is taken from *Perceforest*, vol. v. c. ii. One Utrano therein mentioned, and also in c. viii. is the original of Galaoro and of his behaviour in Tasso.

blackest colours, and the Saxons particularly as traitors, according to the custom of British romancers. The *Gaula* of the romance is a very small country, and no French province or city, not even Paris, is ever mentioned; whilst not only England, Scotland, Cornwall, Ireland, Anglesey, but Windsor (Vindilisora), Gloucester (Glocestre), Bristol (Bristoya), and Gravesend (Gravesenda), often occur in it. King *Norgales* spoken of in the *Amadis* is certainly the King of North Wales. Although romancers mistaking, as usual, a province for a city,[u] called Norgales a city in England;[v] yet in this country where the story was better known, the 'Kinge of Northgalys' was a character of great renown, and governed a country distinct from 'Galys,' as may be seen in the authentic history quoted below.[w]

The *Amadigi* of Tasso is not a mere translation from prose into verse of the beautiful romance of *Amadis de Gaula*, but is a new poem founded upon the romance. It must, however, be allowed that the regularity of the old romance

[u] See above, p. 241, note x.

[v] . . . . Signor mio se arriverai
In Inghilterra, io vo' che mi prometta
Visitar anco la mia terra eletta.
Chiamasi Norgales la mia cittate.
Aragona, *Guer. Mes.* c. xxiii.

[w] *Morte d'Arthur*, ix. 22. In *Sir Lancelot* and other romances of the Round Table, the King of *Norgalles* is a very distinguished character.

rendered it easy to raise a poem on its foundation, and TASSO has closely followed his text-book. The subject of that romance is the life of Amadigi and his love for Oriana from their childhood up to the time of their being united in holy wedlock. TASSO has adopted this subject; and with the idea of surpassing ARIOSTO,[x] has imagined two other actions which proceed along with it; both, however, of the same kind: the love of Floridante and Floridora, and that of Alidoro and Mirinda. He has moreover introduced a great variety of stories, most of which are to be traced to the old romancers.

The main fault in the subject of the *Amadigi* is the want of interest. Whatever the poet may say or do, few readers will care either for *Amadigi* or *Oriana*. Their love and happy marriage is not an affair of such mighty interest as to be worth a poem, unconnected as it is with any grand and epic action. There are battles enough in the *Amadigi;* but the object in view does not deserve either those battles or the verses of TASSO. When, toward the end of the poem, we see all the world in arms in and about the island of Anglesey,[y] to

[x] I shall revert to this subject in the Life of ARIOSTO which I intend to prefix to the *Orlando Furioso.*

[y] GINGUENÉ is mistaken in thinking that it is the Isle of Man which TASSO means. As, however, it is not very important which is the island meant, I shall not trouble the reader with my reasons for dissenting from that excellent historian on this mighty point. My authority is B. TASSO. See *Amadigi*, xcii. 14.

decide by fierce battle and mighty contest, whether Oriana is to be wife of Amadigi, or of the Roman Emperor, who was so foolish as to insist upon marrying a lady who would not have him,[z] and who had been long residing (with all due precautions, no doubt, against scandal) with the man whom she loved, we are disposed to pity his Imperial Majesty, and to laugh at this 'much ado about nothing.'

The three principal subjects of the *Amadigi* closely resemble one another, being the love of three heroes for three damsels of very considerable beauty, rank and virtue. Although there are shades of difference between the characters of the several personages; though Amadigi be the bravest and most faithful of the knights, and Oriana the most beautiful and most accomplished of the ladies; yet the stories are so much alike, on many of the principal points, that they become monotonous. Amadigi and Oriana have that kind of extravagant superiority over the others, which diminishes the interest that the poet strives to create for that matchless couple. These three subjects being moreover detached, and neither depending, nor having a bearing on one another, so as to give connection to the poem, the work is loose and disjointed. The three actions also run parallel; which serves to encrease the confusion produced by this triplicity of narratives. There is, besides, an infinite number of

[z] And she was right: for she was already the mother of Esplandiano by Amadigi.

minor events and tales in this poem, which are not connected either with any of the three principal actions, or with one another.[a] No adventure, when begun, is continued and told out at once. It is frequently interrupted; and what is more objectionable, these interruptions are quite capriciously and affectedly used, which, in a poem composed of so many different independent stories, perplexes the reader very much. In addition to this, the numberless characters introduced, and mentioned by their different names and surnames, or described from their country, rank, relationship, &c. considerably augment the embarrassment. It requires more attention to understand this poem than it can be expected should be bestowed on such a work; and even with the utmost exertion it is very difficult to form a complete and clear idea of the *Amadigi*.

The characters of the *Amadigi* are any thing but shining or interesting: there is no truth in them. In this place it is impossible to enter into details, but as Torquato Tasso has contended that the characters of Amadigi and Oriana are superior to those of Ruggero and Bradamante in the *Furioso*, this opinion shall be inquired into in the analysis of the latter poem, and the reader

[a] Most of those minor stories resemble in the main point the three principal ones, so that the heroes of this poem are all of the same stamp. They fight, conquer, weep, despair, and act, all pretty much the same. They almost all are in the end united in matrimony, and the poem finishes like a comedy, with a score or two of marriages.

will then have a fair specimen of the characters of the *Amadigi*, and will be able to form a judgment upon the merits of its author, with regard to this important element of a poem.

The machinery of the *Amadigi* consists chiefly of the frequent and unexpected appearance of fairies, who have severally in their keeping some of the leading warriors of the poem. The most provoking quality of these fairies is their stately demeanour. They are very sage matrons, never lively, witty or agreeable. Besides their resemblance in character to each other, their performances also are very much alike; for instance, whenever a hero who has the fortune of being upon good terms with either Urganda or Silvanella, or any other of these ladies, happens to be out at night, in order to prevent his catching a cold, a tent is suddenly set up to make him comfortable, with plenty to eat and drink, and a very good sleeping apartment besides.[b] The hero having eaten and drunk, and slept as much as he thinks proper, the tent disappears and he sets off on his journey. Now of these tents, so hastily

[b] B. Tasso is very anxious for the comforts of his heroes. Floridante once entered into a ship, which sailed very smoothly, although no one was on board to direct it, except some devils who kept a strict *incognito*. The poet, however, takes care to mention that the knight had always a very good dinner and supper served, and the softest bed to rest upon. He had even candles in plenty; which we may suppose were wax candles, since there was good wine provided for dinner. See *Amadigi*, xxiv. 33.

pitched, and of these lodgings, so easily provided, by the same means, there are several instances in the *Amadigi*, so much alike, that there is reason to suspect it was always the same tent, which the devil put in requisition on the different occasions.

The syle of the *Amadigi* is on the whole the part in which Tasso has most excelled. His comparisons and descriptions are generally good, often new, and show great richness of fancy. The poet is particularly successful in descriptions, where a gorgeous display of ornaments and oriental pageantry is called for; nor is he less fortunate where delicacy and softness are required. This, indeed, was his peculiar province: if any thing, he frequently overdid his subject. His great desire of showing off his powers of versification and his learning, at times betrayed him into tiresome details of the most unpoetical nature. Such are for instance the stratagetic precepts of Perione to his son *Amadigi*,[c] disapproved of by Ginguené,[d] and not approved of by the great Torquato.[e] In his diction he may be accused of the faults already mentioned, and of having sometimes indulged in

[c] *Amad. di Fr.* xii. 7. & seq.

[d] *Hist. Lit. d'It.* part ii. ch. xii.

[e] Non sia (il poeta) troppo lungo negli ammaestrament dell'arte militare, ne' quali il Tasso (Bernardo) imitò Claudiano, inducendo Perione, che ammaestra Galaoro, (this is a mistake: the person taught was Amadigi) in quel modo che Teodosio Imperatore avea tenuto con Onorio suo figliuolo. Tasso, *Opp.* vol. v. p. 383. Ed. Ven.

very strange metaphors,[f] and expressions betraying no inconsiderable want of taste.[g]

These few observations will explain why the *Amadigi* is not a favourite, in the country of Ariosto. Ginguené seems to think that the public are unjust to the poem, and that it deserves to be more frequently read. This speculative opinion might have been passed over unnoticed, were it not for the reason which the elegant historian assigns for this pretended injustice. He seems to imagine that this is owing to the moral character of the work. What the historian's notions of delicacy and propriety were it is difficult to say, when such strange assertions are brought forward by him. The *Amadigi* abounds in scandalous stories, which, to the original sin of being gross, add that of being supremely dull. What can be worse than Galaoro, who, as Ginguené himself says, profite de tous les plaisirs qui lui sont offerts? What more uninteresting, owing to its uncalled for freedom, than the very improper episode of the love of Lucilla and Alidoro? Is not this intrigue introduced solely for the purpose of indulging in

[f] Such as; braccia del core, XIII. 24; omeri dell' alma, LXIII. 34; bocca dell' alma, LXXXV. 16, &c.

[g] He says, for instance, LXXXI. 83.

È la sete amorosa idropisia
Che quant' uom più ne bee, più ber vorria.

It is curious that he should have persisted in leaving this simile after Giraldi had disapproved of it as too vulgar. See *Lettere di* Bernardo Tasso, vol. ii. page 321.

the pleasure of relating an immoral story? This episode is without pathos, without interest, without consequence in the poem, and if it do not please, as it certainly cannot, it is not on account of its strict morality. Many more passages might be quoted: but the subject will not bear a further inquiry.

The author of the *Jerusalem Delivered*, was sent by his father, BERNARDO TASSO, to the University of Padua, to study the law. BERNARDO knew by experience that poetry was not a very good mode of making money, and was desirous that his son should be brought up to a profession, which would furnish him with the means of a more independent life. TORQUATO resided ten months at that University. He attended the lectures of some of the greatest men of the age, (among others of SIGONIO) then professors at that ancient seat of learning, and for his amusement during his leisure hours, composed a romanesque narrative poem in twelve cantos, intitled *Il Rinaldo*, which he completed before he was eighteen years of age.[h] The subject of it is the early life of Rinaldo up to his marriage with Clarice; but it seems that TASSO invented the story, since, as told by him, it is not to be found in the old romances. Bojardo is taken and tamed by Rinaldo himself, according to TASSO, and not by Mala-

[h] Even as early as this he meditated writing an epic poem on the first crusade. To record the honour of having had TASSO a student in their School, the members of the Univer-

gigi, as we have seen was the story in the romances.[i] Some of the adventures are taken from the old books; for instance, the story of Sir Tristram giving up his lance to Rinaldo, as to a knight surpassing him in valour, is taken from the *Reali di Francia*, in which it is asserted that a statue of the Emperor Alexander yielded its sword to Fioravante as the best knight in the world.[k]

When BERNARDO saw the poem of his son, he thought it useless to oppose so decided an inclination, and allowed him to abjure JUSTINIAN, and study HOMER and VIRGIL, consenting likewise to the publication of the *Rinaldo*. It is remarkable that the young TASSO, in a preface to his work, enters into very sensible observations on the subject of his poem, and the unity of action, professing himself even then, not altogether satisfied with the system of the romanesque poets, although followed by his father, and feeling a leaning to-

sity of Padua, more than two centuries afterwards, erected a statue to him with the following inscription:

TORQVATO TASSO
QVEM PATAVINA SCHOLA
ITALORVM EPICORVM
PRINCIPEM DESIGNATVM DIMISIT
GYMNASII PATAVINI ALVMNI
TANTO SODALITIO SVPERBI
PP. CIƆIƆCCLXXVIII.

[i] *Il Rinaldo*. c. ii. st. xxx. & seq. See above, page 70. The horse, says TASSO, was

Bajo e castagno, onde Bajardo è detto.

[k] *Il Rinaldo*, c. ii. st. lxvi. *Real. di Fr.* lib. ii. c. xxxvii.

wards the magnificent structures of the ancients. The interest of the reader is kept alive, as much as can be expected in such a poem. The adventures of the *Rinaldo* are ingenious, and well connected, arising out of each other, and full of variety. The characters are not sufficiently individualized; but this is a fault peculiar to the romanesque poets. The descriptions are lively, delicate, and written without the least appearance of art. The comparisons are numerous, and often original and striking. If the diction have not the magnificence and elevation of the *Jerusalem Delivered*, it has less concetti. The stanzas, although not so epic as in the grand poem just mentioned, flow, however, spontaneously, and convey the poet's ideas with vivacity and force.

These surely are merits enough in a poem written by a boy under eighteen. Besides its intrinsic merit, the *Rinaldo* is worthy of perusal with a critical view; since in it may be found the germs of those poetical beauties, which afterwards were fully developed in the *Jerusalem Delivered.* Ismeno's forest, Armida, her gardens, Sveno's tomb, the death of Clorinda, the grief of Tancredi, the death of Lesbino, the duel between Rinaldo and Gernando, that between Tancredi and Argante, as well as several other parts of the *Jerusalem* are splendid paintings, of which the rough sketches are to be traced in the *Rinaldo.*

The only poem which yet remains to be mentioned is the *Ricciardetto*, written by Niccolò

FORTIGUERRI,[l] and published, after the death of its author, in 1738. It has been asserted that he wrote rather too freely, under the impression that his poem would never be published;[m] others have even said that he forbade its being printed;[n] statements altogether unfounded, since in the letter prefixed to the poem,[o] the author says he has written to please himself first, and then those who one day will perhaps read it; and concludes with saying, that the work shall be printed if ACI shall not deem it unworthy of the honor. Another mistaken notion, generally adopted, is, that the poem was written by FORTIGUERRI as if off hand. He has himself, in the letter just quoted, given occasion to this supposition. He states that on hearing some one say that the *Orlando Furioso* or the *Morgante* must have cost their authors great labour, he, rashly enough, rejoined, that perhaps this was not the fact, since nature does more than half his work for a poet, and that he himself would next evening bring to the friends, to whom he was then speaking, a canto of a poem in the style of ARIOSTO, BERNI and PULCI; a

[l] FORTIGUERRA or FORTINGUERRA (strong in war). Hence the poet, following the example set by one of his ancestors, SCIPIONE FORTIGUERRA, who lived in the fifteenth century, and who was a distinguished Hellenist, turned his surname into Greek, and called himself CARTEROMACO.

[m] FABRONI, *Vit. di* N. FORTIGUERRI.

[n] CORNIANI, *Sec. della Liter. Ital.*

[o] NIDALMO TISEO, *ad* ACI DELPUSIANO; that is EUSTACHIO MANFREDI.

task which he in fact accomplished. He adds moreover, that he wrote the remainder of the work for his amusement, and whenever he could steal time from more serious occupations, during the course of a few years. Now it remains to be proved that the first canto of the *Ricciardetto*, (which is *not* to be compared in point of style with either of the works of the three poets which it pretends to emulate) is, as it now stands, the one which was written in a day; and we may be assured that it is not. Next, it is to be observed, that these protestations of having written for his amusement, whenever graver occupations allowed him time, during a few years, are not greatly to be trusted. They are such indefinite assertions, that any meaning may be attached to them; and some statement of the same kind might be made, with regard to the manner in which Bojardo, Ariosto and B. Tasso wrote their poems. As we do not know how many hours a day Fortiguerri gave to his poem, and as the number of those *few* years, of which he speaks, is not exactly ascertained, it would be idle to attempt to prove, arithmetically, that the poem was not written so easily as some have imagined. To the general assertions made in his letter, by the poet, another general assertion may be opposed. In the last four stanzas of the eighteenth canto of the *Ricciardetto*, the author says, not only that the work was fatiguing, but that he sometimes did not dare to proceed; for, although to write that poem might seem an easy task, this was not the case; and that the appear-

ance of ease was the result of the great labour which he had been obliged to bestow upon the work.

The anxiety of biographers and historians to prove that Fortiguerri did not mean to publish his worth, is to clear his name from the accusation of his intending to print a book so unbecoming his character. Fortiguerri was a prelate in favour with Pope Clement XII. to whom, it is said, he read parts of his poem, with which his Holiness was delighted. It seemed very strange that the Pontiff should approve of such a work, as the *Ricciardetto*, being written by a secretary of the *Propaganda*, (who died of a broken heart, at having missed his chance of being appointed secretary to the college of Cardinals); and to diminish the scandal, it was thought a very good thing to assert that the book was never intended to meet the public eye. It would not have been correct that the public should read some of the scurrilous passages in which the *Ricciardetto* abounds, printed under the eyes of a Pontiff who was known to have expressed his approbation of the work. The friars would not have pardoned the author for having been engaged in writing a poem in which they were bitterly ridiculed, and by which their hypocrisy, more particularly in the character of Ferraù, was most openly and severely exposed. The poem was therefore printed at Venice in 1738, with the date of Paris, three years after the death of the author.

Ferraù in this poem is the most prominent character. In some of the old romancers he is a

giant; and in all, even in Ariosto, he is a Saracen warrior, brave, false, and as ugly as possible. In the *Ricciardetto* he becomes a Christian and a hermit after Angelica's death; or at least he dresses like a hermit, after she pretends to die in order to get rid of him: but neither his religion nor his morals are at all improved; nor is his courage diminished. Ferraù turned hermit, and, to all appearance, zealously scourging himself, to mortify his sinning body, had not lost any of the peccant inclinations, which he had manifested before. He was as violent and as passionate as ever; he still swore in spite of his endeavours to restrain himself; and what even yet he could least of all resist, was a female face. He preferred pretty and young ones; but he was not very nice, and provided it was but a woman, poor Ferraù forgot his prayers, his discipline, and his good resolutions: nay, he was even ready to give up, in this cause, that little portion of religion which he possessed. But as soon as he was left alone, and the enormity of his crimes was made manifest to him, he became afraid of the devil, wept bitterly, repented in good earnest, and was, for the moment, reformed. No sooner, however, did the occasion offer itself, than he fell once more, to repent and fall again. He died at last, leaving it doubtful whether he regretted more the having sinned, or the being unable to sin any longer.

This character was, to a certain degree, suited to the old romances, in which it is very common

to find an ancient warrior, turning either hermit or pilgrim, or devoting himself to some humble religious offices, or menial employment.[p] It was the fashion in the days of FORTIGUERRI for an old sinner to withdraw into some retired part of the country, or to enter a convent, there to do penance for all sorts of crimes, thinking, or wishing that it should be thought, that this last show of repentance had turned him into a saint. These hypocrites, FORTIGUERRI, a Roman prelate, and who read his poem to the then Pope, wished to expose and ridicule. This he accomplished in the character of Ferraù, and in some of the adventures which he supposes to have happened to him. On one occasion, he and several of the most renowned Paladins, not knowing how to pay the innkeeper's bill, determine that Ferraù and Ricciardetto shall go a-begging. Ferraù, accordingly, lashes himself to excite compassion, as a converted sinner, and Ricciardetto follows him with a box, collecting the money which the people of the Spanish town, where they find themselves, are so good as to give them.[q]

[p] See above, page 77.

[q] Knights of old often found themselves reduced to these distressing extremities. Orlando was once obliged to leave his horse, Vegliantino, in pledge with the inn-keeper; who, however, being a good man, regretted seeing the Count on foot, and allowed him to remount the steed. *Morg. Mag.* xxi. 129 & 130. The same knight avows, of his own accord, that he had often been obliged to pawn his arms, being pennyless. *Morg. Mag.* xxii. 96. Not only Rizieri, we are told, was once obliged to leave his shield, but Charlemagne

This will easily shew that the object of Fortiguerri was to excite laughter; and, in fact, in his poem, he does nothing but turn into buffooneries all the stories of the Paladins. Two giants in the *Ricciardetto* act as clerks to the reverend father Ferraù, and, in due time, are ordained priests, and celebrate mass. Orlando did not, according to Fortiguerri, recover his senses on their being restored to him by Astolfo, who went to the Moon to fetch them, as we read in Ariosto; but was cured by much water, little bread, and fifty lashes well laid on every morning by his brother Paladins. Orlando, Ferraù, Ricciardetto and Astolfo, being treacherously taken prisoners, are condemned to death; they are, however, released on the plea set up by Orlando, of their low station in society, whereupon they are allowed, each of them, to follow his own calling. Orlando then turns caterer, Rinaldo cook, Ferraù hostler, Ricciardetto barber, and Astolfo inn-keeper.

To pretend to define the subject of this poem would be ridiculous. The love of Ricciardetto and Despina is not the subject, but the pretext, for writing the *Ricciardetto*. Despina, it may be observed, from the very beginning of the poem, is introduced like a heroine, armed and fighting at the head of her troops to revenge the death of her brother, who had been killed by Ricciar-

himself, and some of his companions, were compelled to pledge their armour with the inn-keeper, whose bill they could not pay. *Real. di Fran.* I. 61, & VI. 40.

detto. The poet afterwards forgetting this, represents her as timid as a dove; and on the incident of arming herself for the sake of disguise, he thinks proper to tell us that she is not terrified by it, and that she hopes to harden herself in arms.[r] These inconsistencies would merit animadversion in any other poem, but in the *Ricciardetto* they may, perhaps, be regarded as merely an additional eccentricity.

Fortiguerri has been praised for his extravagancies, and it has been asserted that he has the honor of having invented all the stories of the *Ricciardetto*.[s] This praise is certainly the highest that can be bestowed upon a poet, were it but true. That the borrowing stories and characters from old romancers should have been overlooked, is easily understood; but that Fabroni should not have seen the many imitations in Fortiguerri of stories, taken either from old Italian tales, or from the most popular poems, can be accounted for only by that veil, which generally blinds the eyes of biographers in any thing connected with the glory of their hero. The imitations are so numerous and so obvious, that it would be pedantry to point out particular passages. The merit of Fortiguerri consists in having rendered these adventures and characters, which he has borrowed, disgustingly gross and coarse. He has been called lively and witty, when

[r] Compare iv. 61. vii. 7. xiv. 101. xviii. 72. This is a misplaced imitation of Clorinda's charming anxiety in Tasso.

[s] Fabroni, l. c.

he was only vulgar and impudent. His stories are often scandalous, but the language, in which they are told, is ten times worse than the subjects themselves, and no man can be pleased with the jests and repartees of FORTIGUERRI, if he be not particularly fond of the vilest phraseology. This being a matter of taste, however, it is not to be wondered at, if critics should hold different opinions.

Nor is it true that the imagination of FORTIGUERRI or his style is such, as to make atonement for his bad qualities. To imagine absurdities, does not constitute a poetical fancy. FORTIGUERRA, abusing his imagination, often spoiled what he imitated. The net of Zambardo, or Caligorante in BOJARDO or ARIOSTO [t] caught one man at a time; FORTIGUERRI imagines a net which caught a thousand men at once,[v] and in another place he says that a whole island was covered with many such nets.[u] Is this an argument to prove that FORTIGUERRI had greater imagination than either BOJARDO or ARIOSTO? As for his style, it is preposterous to speak of it, in comparison with that of PULCI, BOJARDO, BERNI, or ARIOSTO. His versification is generally flowing and easy; but in attempting to imitate the playful familiarity of the last-mentioned poet, and his elegant carelessness, he is low and insipid. His ease shows the facility with

[t] See *Orl. Innam.* lib. i. c. v. st. 81. *Orl. Fur.* c. xv. st. 44.

[v] *Ricciard.* iv. 73. vi. 9.

[u] *Ricciard.* xix. 18.

which he could rhyme; but does not show that he, by a special privilege, could easily make good verses. Some of the commencements of his cantos are pleasing, and several of his descriptions and original comparisons would deserve great praise, were they not too often spoiled by some vulgar thought or phrase. It seems that he was anxious not to let any occasion pass, without indulging his coarse humour. Instead of checking his inclination to buffoonery and to jest, he tried to forward it by all the means in his power, as if he were of opinion, that to be sober, or delicate, or polite, was the greatest sin which a poet could commit. This is the more to be regretted, as we have proofs that he would have been capable of distinguishing himself either in vigour, pathos or elegance, had he but considered it proper to leave the low path which he preferred, and to bestow all the attention of which he was capable on a poem written on a more rational plan. Two quotations will be sufficient in proof of these assertions. They are a couple of stanzas containing two similes: a kind of embellishment in which Fortiguerri has succeeded better than in any other. These stanzas are so beautiful, that they will appear to advantage even by the side of the exquisite translation which accompanies them.

The poet is complaining of death, who unjustly snatches from this world only honest and good people, and spares tyrants and monsters. But he soon corrects himself, saying:

NOR is it true that tyrants always wear
Time's hoary honours on their aged brow,
For I have seen full many, in the glare
Of power, and greenest, freshest years, laid low:
Tyrants are as the scourge, a father's care
Lifts o'er his wayward child in angry show,
Which, seeing him corrected, weeping stand,
The father breaks, with fond relenting hand.[w]

LADY DACRE.

Despina had been so enchanted, that she could not recollect or recognise any of her friends. Ricciardetto, her lover, who had been anxiously searching for her in every corner of the world, finds her at last; but she speaks to him as to a stranger, not recognising him. Ricciardetto was as much amazed at this as grieved:

E'EN as the tender mother trembling bends
O'er her sick child, by wild delirium torn,
At first in mute amaze, nor comprehends
How from his mind all consciousness is worn;[x]

---

[w] Nè sempre è vero ancor che i lor capelli
Veggan canuti gli uomini tiranni;
Ch' io n' ho veduti molti ne' più belli
Morire, e ne' più freschi e più verdi anni:
Perchè costoro son come i flagelli,
Che il padre adopra de' figliuoli a' danni;
Che, corretti che sono, egli li frange
Davvanti agli occhi del figliuol che piange. C. XI. st. 7.

[x] Come tenera madre guardar suole
Il figlio fatto ad un tratto deliro,
Che assai stupire sul primo si suole,
Come di sè del tutto in lui svaniro

Then marks his alter'd accents,—startled, sends
A bursting sigh from forth her heart forlorn,
And clasps him, weeping, while he laughs, unknowing
That from a mother's eyes those tears are flowing.

LADY DACRE.

With the *Ricciardetto* the romanesque narrative poems, which had from time to time appeared in Italy, during three centuries, ceased; and with this poem the present *Essay* must conclude. The elements of this species of poetry, as well as some of the attempts made in it, having been thus laid open to the reader, the two greatest works of this class, the *Orlando Innamorato*, by BOJARDO, and the *Furioso*, by ARIOSTO, will be read with more pleasure; and if a juster estimation of the genius of these two authors should be formed, the object with which the present pages have been offered to the admirers of Italian poetry will be accomplished.

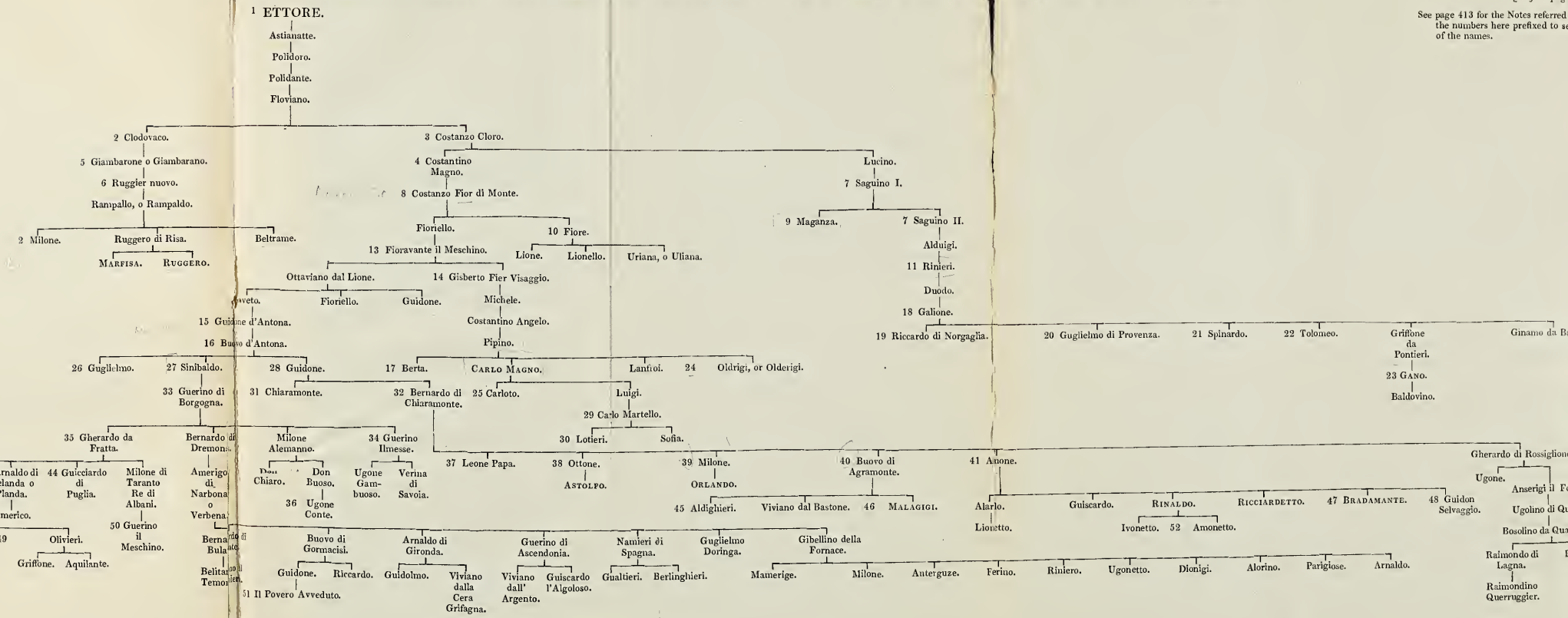
Le idee, e guasto è il suon di sue parole;
Indi disciolto il core in un sospiro
L'abbraccia e piange; ed egli ride, e intanto
Non sa che quello è di sua madre il pianto.

C. XXI. st. 18.

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE, SHOWING THE PEDIGREE AND RELATIONSHIP OF THE MOST RENOWNED PALADINS AND HEROES CELEBRATED IN THE ROMANCES CONCERNING CHARLEMAGNE.

[*To face page* 412.

See page 413 for the Notes referred to by the numbers here prefixed to several of the names.



NOTES

TO THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

1 THE genealogy, here followed, is that of BOJARDO, as I observed page 147, and does not agree with that of the *Reali di Francia*. But, intending to illustrate the poems of BOJARDO and ARIOSTO, I was bound to follow their pedigree of the Paladins. BOJARDO had, moreover, as good a right as the author of the *Reali di Francia* to give us a genealogy, which possibly may be the more correct of the two, it seeming certain that he has followed some old tradition, which we must prefer, because chosen by him. The genealogy adopted by QUADRIO and followed by DR. FERRARIO, begins from *Massimiano*, the Emperor, father of *Giovanni dal Lione*, whose son *Costanzo Cloro* was. In the *Reali di Francia*, in prose, I find no mention of the two first. The grandfather of Costantino, according to the prose romance, far from being son of an emperor, was so poor as to be obliged to tend the plough, although of gentle birth. See v. 9. Perhaps they are mentioned by ALTISSIMO, whose work I cannot consult. QUADRIO says that *Giovanni dal Leone* is Sir Yvain, celebrated in the romance of *Sir Lancelot*, and called *dal Leone*, because a lion took paternal care of him, as we have seen this animal was so good as to do with several others, who went by the same surname. See page 69. I have only to observe, that this forms another strong connection between the Welch traditions and those respecting the Paladins.

2 BOJARDO, *Orl. Innam.* iii. v. 28.

3 BOJARDO, ibid. calls him *Costante*. QUADRIO says that he married *Helen*, daughter of *Coel*, King of Colchester (FERRARIO says Gloucester), from whom *Constantino* was born in England, as QUADRIO asserts, no doubt on the authority of GEOFFRY OF MONMOUTH, the second book of whose history is

full of curious information on this head. This *Coel* is our old friend the Welch *Hoel*, or *Oel* (Howel), frequently mentioned. See pp. 36 and 44. The *h* is pronounced like hard *c* by the Italians, whenever it is sounded; as for instance in the Latin words *mihi*, *nihil*, &c.; and *Hoel* thus pronounced, is *Coel*. Further, we have seen, page 37, that *Hoel* had not a niece, but a daughter, called *Helen*, the name of the lady of *Costanzo:* and at Rome, even to this day, it is said that *sons* are called *nephews*. Helen was the name of a very celebrated Welch lady, she being no less than the mother of *Sir Lancelot*.

4 I have said, page 44, that the Constantine of romancers was not Constantine the Great, but Constantine the Tyrant. My reasons for this assertion are the following. In the *Reali di Francia*, v. 9. we find that 'Constantine was, in England, one of the imperial officers, and was made Emperor by foreigners;' and we are likewise told in the same work, ii. 1., that Constantine there mentioned was Constantine II. Now, these circumstances agree with what we historically know of Constantine the Tyrant, but not with the life of the Emperor. Constantine the Tyrant must certainly have been celebrated in British lays. It is remarkable that, at the same period, the inhabitants of Armorica fought against the same enemies, who were defeated both by the Britons and by Constantine on the continent. In the history of the two Constantines, there were some circumstances, which must have facilitated the confounding one Constantine with the other. They both had a son called Constans, and, what is more curious is, that Constantine the Great was proclaimed Emperor at York. From this another argument may be drawn in favour of the supposition, that all these romances came originally from Wales. The second book of the history of GEOFFRY OF MONMOUTH agrees with these fictions, and should be consulted by those who wish thoroughly to understand this subject. Mr. TURNER thinks that Vortigern of GEOFFRY is no other than Gerontius the general of Constantine the tyrant. *Anglo-Sax.* ii. 7. note 52.

5 Giambarone, or Giovan Barone, according to the *Reali di Francia*, ii. 1, was a Roman of the race of the Scipios; that is, of the Cornelian clan. So was Florindo, according to T. TASSO. See *Il Rinaldo*, c. xi. st. 88.

6 The *Reali di Francia* calls him *Rizieri*. BOJARDO, iii. v. 29, says that Buovo and the race of Antona were from this branch of the Trojan family. I leave the assertion on his conscience. I have followed the *Reali di Francia* in the pedigree of the race of *Antona*, because BOJARDO does not say how it came from *Rugger novo*. In the last canto of the *Morgante* there is a kind of abridged history of Charlemagne's reign, which contains much truth, mixed with some fictitious circumstances; and from it we learn that Don Chiaro, Don Buoso, and Ricciero were from Risa. See xxviii. 57.

7 One *Saguin*, Count of Bordeaux, was put to death by the Normans in 846. SISMONDI, *Hist. des Fr.* v. iii. p. 90.

8 He married *Brandoria*, the heroine mentioned page 150. *Real. di Fr.* i. 17.

9 From this lady the house of *Maganza* took its name. *Real. di Fr.* i. 22.

10 Crowned King of *Dardena* or *Darbena* by his father; hence the name given to this branch. *Real. di Fr.* i. 25. This name *Dardena* has also been changed into *Dordona*. I think *Dardena* is *Di Ardenna*, and *Dordona*, *Dordogna* (*Ardenne* and *Dordogne*).

11 This *Rinieri* or *Raineri* was killed by Guidone, son of Boveto d'Antona, *Real. di Fr.* iii. 26. Hence the hatred between the two houses of Maganza and Chiaramonte.

12 This Milone is not mentioned by BOJARDO, but in the *Reali di Francia*, vi. 54, we are told that he was an illegitimate son of Rampaldo. He was killed by his brother Beltramo, a traitor, of whom more will be said in the notes to BOJARDO. See DOLCE, *Prim. Imp. d'Orlando*, ix. 64.

13 See p. 167. Fioravante is a most celebrated hero in the *Reali di Francia*.

14 See p. 69.

15 There is some confusion here, owing, I think, to Boveto's brother and son being both called *Guidone*. It seems, however, that the son, Guidone d'Antona, married a lady, called *Brandoria* (not the same mentioned above in note 8, but a daughter of Ottone of Bordeaux), who was much younger than himself (the only action of his life, says the *Reali di*

Francia, iii. 26, for which he was blamed; for, as the author asserts elsewhere, iv. 4, no old man ought to believe that he can be loved by a young wife). This lady entered into a conspiracy against her husband's life with Duodo, son of Rinieri of Maganza; Guidone was murdered by this Duodo, who married Brandoria, and possessed himself of the estates of the house of Antona.

16 Buovo, in due time, killed Duodo in battle, and caused his own mother Brandoria to be condemned to death by Pepino. *Real. di Fr.* iv. 50 & 52. These horrible stories form a counterpart to the well-known tragical occurrences of Greece. See p. 33.

17 This, in the *Reali di Francia*, vi. 17, is called Berta II. being daughter of Berta *dal gran piè*, mentioned p. 156. Berta II. married Milone, as I have said p. 57, and was the mother of Orlando. I believe Berta I. was really *long-footed*, having read in TURPIN that her son Charlemagne had very long feet. See page 16, note w.

18 This Galione was half-brother to Buovo d'Antona, being son of Duodo and Brandoria. He assassinated his brother Buovo, whilst the latter was praying in a church. *Real. di Fr.* iv. 79. These revolting atrocities were not, strictly speaking, *revenge*, but *punishment*, according to the opinion of BOCCACCIO, *Decam.* viii. 7; for he tells us that 'vendetta dee trapassare l'offesa.' To avenge family wrongs was considered a duty with many nations. TACITUS says of the Germans: Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris, seu propinqui, quam amicitias, necesse est. *Mor. Germ.* xxi. The same was the feeling among Italians of old. The mild CICERO praises Lucullus very highly, because 'admodum adolescens cum fratre, pari pietate & industria prædito, paternas inimicitias magna cum gloria est persecutus.' *Lucullus* in princ.

19 I suspect *Norgaglia* to be the same as North Wales. See page 392.

20 This is a very common name in history. William, Count of Catalogne, mentioned p. 119, called the Saracens into France, and was supported by them against Charles the Bald. He, perhaps, is the original William, of the treacherous house

of Maganza. William of Catalogne was taken by the partisans of his sovereign Charles, and put to death. *Chronic. Fontanel. ad an.* 849.

21 Spinardo was killed by Bernardo, Rinaldo's grandfather. *Reali di Fran.* vi. 3.

22 See p. 150.

23 In the romance of *Buovo d'Antona* this famous traitor is said to be the son of one Raymond.

24 Lanfroi and Olderigi were illegitimate sons of Pepin. They put to death both their father and his lawful wife, and assisted by the Maganzese, possessed themselves of the throne. *Reali di Fr.* vi. 17, 18. In due time, Charlemagne killed Lanfroi in battle, ibid. 44; and having taken Olderigi prisoner, he condescended to behead him with his own imperial hand. See p. 109. We have seen, p. 92, that Grifo, brother of Pepin, was persecuted to death by this monarch.

25 Carloto was hanged, as we have seen p. 109. See also p. 78.

26 This William was King of England, and left no issue. Was William the Conqueror the original of the one here mentioned, and raised to the throne of these realms by romancers?

27 He built a castle called *Mongrana;* hence his posterity were called of the house of Mongrana.

28 This is omitted by QUADRIO, who supposes Buovo the father of Bernardo of Clermont.

29 Here is a conclusive proof that romancers mistook one Charles for the other. *Charles Martel* was not the *grandson,* but the *grandfather* of *Charlemagne.* It was *Charles the Bald* who was *Charlemagne's* grandson. If therefore romancers could so easily mistake *Charles the Bald* for *Charles Martel,* it is clear that they would, with still less difficulty, mistake *Charles the Bald* for *Charles-magne,* as in fact they did. See p. 113, & seq.

30 See p. 73 and 245, where Lohier is said to be Charlemagne's son.

31 He left no issue; but, having built a castle to which he gave his name, the descendants from his brother Bernardo

took thence the family surname. Perhaps this name Clermont (Chiaramonte) was very famous and venerable, because the Council at which the first crusade was decided upon was held at Clermont in 1095. See what has been said respecting the popularity of Charlemagne, p. 50, & seq. The quotation from the *Reali di Fran.* i. xii. in note n, ought to be thus: Artù con molta bella Baronia fece poco per la fede di Cristo.

32 See p. 106, note e, where a misprint has occurred. 'Rinaldo's family name was *Clairmont (Chiaramonte)*, and Bernard of *Clairmont* or *Clermont* was his grandfather.'

33 In the *Reali di Francia*, it is positively said that this Guerino had only four sons. Dr. FERRARIO mentions as a fifth, Anselmo, Duke of Pavia, of whom I never heard.

34 Here DR. FERRARIO and I disagree. He supposes Ugone and Verina born from Guerino d' Ascendonia, which is a mistake. The *Reali di Francia* says: Dal quarto (that is, from the fourth son of Guerino di Borgogna; only four sons are mentioned, as I remarked in the preceding note), che fu chiamato, Guerino nacque Ugone di Gambuoso e Verina di Savoia. In the pedigree of Amerigo of Narbona his fourth son (that is Guerino, who in the edition of the *Reali di Francia*, in my possession, which is about the worst edition of any book, which it ever fell to my lot to peruse, is called Amerino), is set down as the father of Vivian dall' Argento and of Guiscardo l'Algoloso. This pedigree is unintelligible in all the editions of the *Reali di Francia*. GAMBA, whose edition I have been able to procure just as these notes were about to be struck off, finding the pedigree of Guerino of Borgogna unintelligible, as there are mentioned 'quattro figliuoli' after one Guerino, without saying who and what they were, has taken the liberty to add the word *nacquero*, and the passage is worse than before. Here is the pedigree of the house of Mongrana as it ought to be: I do not find it so in any edition, but it is so according to good sense. Any reader who will take the trouble to compare the following passage, with any edition of the *Reali di Francia*, will see that whilst they are all utterly unintelligible, these simply orthographical emendations render every thing as clear as possible.

Da Sinibaldo l'altro figliuolo di Buovo d'Antona nacque Guerino; e da Guerino (that is Guerino di Borgogna) nacquero quattro figliuoli: (I.) Girardo da Fratta; (II.) Bernardo di Dremons; (III.) Milone Alemanno; (IV.) e Guerino [Ilmesse] che nacque dietro alla morte del padre.

(I.) Da Girardo da Fratta nacquero (1.) Rinieri di Vienna; (2.) Arnaldo di Blanda; (3.) Guicciardo di Puglia; e (4.) Milone di Taranto.

(II.) Da Bernardo (di Dremons) nacque Amerigo di Verbena (or Narbona); e da Amerigo (the one just mentioned) nacquero; (1.) Bernardo di Bulante (or Busbante); (2.) Buovo di Gormacisi; (3.) Arnaldo di Gironda; (4.) Guerino d'Ascendonia; (5.) Namieri di Spagna; (6.) Guglielmo Doringa; (7.) Gibellino dalla Fornace; (8.) e una femmina.

(1.) Da Bernardo di Busbante (or Bulante) nacque Belitamo il Timonieri.

(2.) Da Buovo (di Gormacisi) nacque *(a)* Guidone, e *(b)* Ricciardo.

(a) Da Guidone nacque il Povero Avegu (Avveduto).

(3.) Da Arnaldo (di Gironda) terzo figliuolo di Amerigo (and not *Amerino*, whose name never occurs) nacque Guidolmo, e Viviano dalla Cera Grifagna

(4.) Da Guerino (di Ascendonia) quarto figliuolo di Amerigo (and not 'e da Guerino *naquero*, says GAMBA, quattro figliuoli. Da Amerigo nacque Viviano,' &c.; which is nonsense) nacque Viviano dall' Argento, e Guiscardo l'Algoloso.

(5.) Da Namieri (di Spagna and not *Manieri*, of whom we never heard) il quinto figliuolo di Amerigo nacquero Gualtieri, Berlinghieri ed altri.

(6.) Di Guglielmo (Doringa) sesto figliuolo di Amerigo, non rimase erede, nè ebbe figliuoli.

(7.) Dal settimo figliuolo d'Amerigo, detto Gibellino (della Fornace) nacquero dieci figliuoli; cioè Mamerige, &c.

(III.) Da Milone, terzo figliuolo di Guerino di Borgogna nacquero (1.) Don Chiaro: e (2.) Don Buoso.

(2.) Di Buoso nacque il Conte Ugone, che andò vivo (e in vita) all' inferno per Carlo Martello, e poi tornò.

(IV.) Dal quarto (figlio di Guerino di Borgogna), che fu chiamato Guerino (Ilmesse) nacquero Ugone di Gambuoso, e Verina da Savoia.

Questa è la stirpe di Mongrana.

35 He was a rather stubborn and difficult man to manage, according to old romancers. DOLCE, *Prim. Imp. d'Orl.* xii. 11. supposes him brother of Don Chiaro and Buoso. This does not agree with what we read in the *Reali di Francia*, which I have followed.

36 Owing to the confusion and contradictory statements, alluded to in the three preceding notes, the pedigree of this Ugone is not so clear as one might wish. I regret it the more, since, I confess, I should rather like to see exactly who he was, as he performed the most perilous quest, that ever hero accomplished. He is the knight, on whom Charles Martel imposed the task of going to hell and returning thence; which he did, and was none the worse for the fatigues of that journey. See the original passage in the foregoing note. 'Andar per uno' in Italian, means *to go to fetch him*, or to *go on his behalf*. I have adopted the latter interpretation; if the former be preferred, it may be an argument in favour of the assertion that Charles Martel is really lost for ever. See p. 90 on this important point.

37 Leo III. was elected Pope December 26th, 796; but I do not know how he was related to this family.

38 I leave to English historians to find out who this Ottone King of England was. According to the romancers, he was a faithful ally of Charlemagne. The most powerful King of the Heptarchy, Offa, King of Mercia, was allied to Charlemagne.

39 See p. 57. One Milo was Duke of Burgundy, as we find in the romance of *Guy of Warwick*; and a worthy Duke he was. ELLIS, *Specim.* ii. 31. Milon, the father of Orlando, was killed by Agolante or Aigolandro in Spain. TURPIN, c. viii. Others say he was killed by Almonte, son of Agolante, near Risa (Reggio), in Calabria. DOLCE, xiv. 59.

40 Murdered by the Maganzesè. See p. 74 and 75.

41 See p. 75, 76 and 99.

42 Governor of Sutri for the Pope. DOLCE, iii. 66. See p. 49.

43 He was chairman of the tribunal, which condemned Carloto to death. *Spanish Ballad: El Marques de Mantua*, part iii. See p. 109. Americo, son of this Arnaldo, is not mentioned in the *Reali di Francia;* but see DOLCE, xii. 12.

44 Is it the Norman Robert Guiscard, the conqueror and Count or King of Puglia, that is meant here?

45 Aldighieri was an illegitimate son of Buovo, as ARIOSTO assures us, adding that it is rashness and vanity to assert that he was a legitimate son of Gherardo. *Orl. Fur.* xxv. 72. PULCI was so rash and so vain as to say so. See p. 295.

46 Viviano and Malagigi are *Vivien et Maugys*, of whom see p. 69.

47 I do not think Bradamante or Brandamante is ever mentioned in old romances, and I greatly suspect her to be BOJARDO'S own invention. GINGUENÉ most unaccountably says, that she appears for the first time in the *Mambriano*; which is a mistake, inasmuch as the *Innamorato* was both written and published before the *Mambriano*.

48 In the *Reali di Francia*, v. 9, as well as in the *Regina Ancroja*, Guidone is said to be a natural son of Rinaldo. But ARIOSTO, who knew the story better, says positively that he was son of Amone from Constanza. *Orl. Fur.* xxxi. 31.

49 We have seen, p. 57, that Orlando was five years younger than Olivieri, as may be collected from DOLCE, iii. 54 & 66. Alda and Olivieri were twins; and she was married to Orlando. From Olivieri were born Grifone and Aquilante, as ARIOSTO asserts; although he says he cannot explain how some authors mistake the name of Olivieri for another. See *Orl. Fur.* xv. 72 & 73. Dr. FERRARIO has preferred the authority of these nameless genealogists, who suppose Galieno son of Olivieri; and Grifone and Aquilante, sons of Ricciardetto. I know nothing of this Galieno, who perhaps is the same individual with *Galien le Rhetoré*, concerning whom, as we have seen, p. 45, RITSON says there is a romance.

50 This is the hero of the poem written by TULLIA. See p. 378.

51 This is one of the principal heroes of the *Ciriffo Calvaneo*, and is mentioned in the very first stanza of that poem. His name occurs in the quotation, p. 212: thence the reader may judge of his valour.

52 In the *Reali di Francia* Rinaldo is said to be the father, not only of these two sons (of whom see p. 77 and 350,) and of Guidone Selvaggio, as we observed note 48, but also of one Dononello di Mombello. Rinaldo, probably, had nothing more to do with this knight than he had with Grifonetto, whom I have unwittingly fathered on him, p. 314. Instead of saying that Grifonetto was the son of Rinaldo, which, for aught I know, is not the case, I ought to have said that Dondrico was dispatched in search of Rinaldo, and Grifonetto of Orlando. This is the real truth. I do not mention either Rinaldino or Orlandino, who are supposed by FORTIGUERRI the sons of Rinaldo and of Orlando, as it is an apocryphal affiliation, dreamt of by this poet. As for Orlando, I, for one, verily believe he had no children at all; since

> Turpin afferma che 'l Conte di Brava
> Fu nella vita sua vergine e casto.
> Credete voi quel che vi piace ormai;
> Turpin dell' altre cose dice assai.
>
> BOJARDO, *Orl. Innam.* I. XXIV. 14.

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